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Sexual Identity Development and Problem Drinking
in College Women

A Thesis Presented

by

Randi E. Schnur

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University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Department of Psychology


SEXUAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AND PROBLEM
DRINKING IN COLLEGE WOMEN

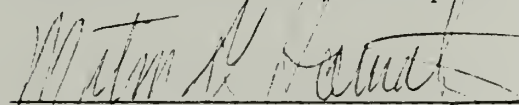
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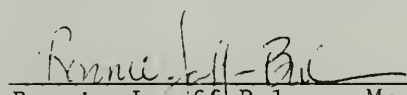
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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Drinking among women is becoming a problem of major proportions. Recent studies show that the percentage of women drinking alcoholic beverages has been increasing (Gomberg, 1979), with between 1.5 and 2.25 million women suffering from alcohol-related problems (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1980). Women in younger age groups have been developing heavier drinking patterns (Carrigan, 1978): Greater than 70% of high school females and 85% of college females in the United States drink alcoholic beverages.

Although this increasing trend in drinking among women has been noted for decades, research devoted specifically to women and alcohol is relatively new. Prior to 1970, only twenty-eight studies concerning drinking focused exclusively on women (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1979). Since 1970, women have been included in alcohol research more frequently; nevertheless, the studies have most often focused on the question of whether women fit into the patterns of, and theories about, drinking that are thought to be characteristic of men: "Most

information on alcoholism in women is presented not as a primary study of the woman alcoholic but as a comparison of women to the most frequently utilized yardstick of alcoholism--the male alcoholic" (Schuckit & Morissey, 1976, p. 9).

Despite this practice of applying information gathered from men to women, it seems that theories of alcohol use and abuse developed from studies using male subjects are not necessarily relevant for women. For example, a prominent theory of alcoholism, developed from findings on male subjects, proposed that alcoholism results from intense, unexpressed dependency needs (Blane, 1968). This view was widely accepted throughout the 1960's and early 1970's and, despite the lack of empirical data, its proponents assumed that it applied to women as well as to men. Intuitively, however, there was reason to question the theory's applicability to women: The traditional female role encourages women to express their dependency needs directly and with social approbation, whereas the traditional male role discourages this expression. Therefore, it seems less likely that women would have to turn to alcohol. To test the assumption that the dependency theory of alcoholism is not relevant for women, Wilsnack (1974) explored the relationship between dependency needs and drinking patterns, using an exclusively female subject

sample. Dependency was measured by subjects' scores on special "dependency scoring systems" for stories told in response to Thematic Apperception Test (Murray, 1943) cards. Wilsnack's (1974) results indicated that the dependency theory does not apply to women; she found no relationship between drinking and dependency.

As the preceding argument suggests, while the dependency theory might have implications for alcoholism in men, it does not seem applicable for women. It would seem more reasonable to focus research on drinking in women around issues that are particularly salient for women themselves, and using female subjects only. In fact, the field has been moving in this direction, as has been indexed by the increased number of studies including only women since the early 1970's. In this more recent research, one of the most prominent areas of exploration has been the relationship between sex-role identity and conflict in women, and associated patterns of drinking behavior. The potential importance of this relationship underscores the value of investigating women's drinking using only women subjects. As Beckman (1975) suggests, if feelings and conflicts around issues of femininity are in fact critical for alcoholic women, then comparing personality characteristics of men and women is not wholly justified. It might be more useful to ask how alcoholic women differ

from non-alcoholic women.

In trying to understand this potential relationship, researchers focused on the ways the stereotypical adult female sex-role might be related to alcohol abuse. The concept of "femininity" implies a certain configuration of behaviors, attitudes, and interests in our society, which is expected by both men and women. This pattern is not necessarily an adaptive one.

The work of Broverman et al. (1970) illustrates this point. The researchers asked clinicians (psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers) to describe a healthy, mature, and socially competent man; a healthy, mature, and socially competent woman; and a healthy, mature, and socially competent adult. The clinicians' judgments of a psychologically healthy man and a psychologically healthy adult were similar; both were characterized as having a number of socially desirable traits. In contrast, the "healthy, mature, and socially competent" woman was judged more submissive, less independent, less competitive, less objective, and basically less socially desirable.

This study suggests that an emotionally healthy woman, as described by mental health clinicians, does not have the kinds of personal qualities, such as assertiveness and independence, judged to be necessary for actively pursuing the gratification of her own needs: "Femininity

involves dependency and passivity, not independence and good coping skills" (Gomberg, 1979). It would seem, then, that adherence to the traditional female sex-role implies either not developing or not using the types of characteristics that are ordinarily considered necessary for meeting one's needs, and for coping with life's demands on one's own. In light of these data, it seems reasonable to assert that women's socialized inability to effectively cope with life's stressors might at least partly explain why there appears to be a more direct relationship between stress and the onset of alcoholism in women than in men (Schuckit & Morrissey, 1976).

Adopting the traditional female sex-role has been found to involve stresses in addition to those associated with a lack of good coping skills. Women are typically expected, for example, to be sensitive to the needs of others, often to the exclusion of attending to or meeting their own needs (Schuckit & Morrissey, 1976). Expressions of anger and competitiveness are deemed inappropriate (Schultz, 1979). Lack of sexual restraint is often met with severe disapproval (Schultz, 1979). Desire to pursue a career is often acceptable only if the woman also has the time to provide primary care for a home, a husband, and children.

The varied demands of the traditional female role

can be viewed as typically placing extraordinary demands on ordinary people. It is not surprising, then, that both researchers and clinicians have observed that a significant proportion of problem-drinking women identify with and believe in this female role, but find that they cannot meet all of its demands simultaneously (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1980). Wilsnack's (1976) findings have suggested that some of these women turn to alcohol as a means of escaping their frustration, disappointment, and feelings of failure. However, while drinking may initially provide these women with a release from feminine sex-typed constraints, it can quickly become a stressful and problematic issue itself. Drunkenness is considered less acceptable for women in our society than for men (Gomberg, 1979; Konovsky & Wilsnack, 1982); therefore, excessive drinking becomes yet another example of the woman's failure to fulfill the demands of the female role. Feelings of low self-esteem, shame, self-disgust, and embarrassment become associated with the drinking behavior. To escape social disapproval, the woman may begin drinking alone; in fact, female drinkers drink in isolation significantly more often than do males (Lindbeck, 1972; Schuckit & Morrissey, 1976).

Exploring a facet of the relationship between adherence to the stereotypical female sex-role and drinking, Konovsky

and Wilsnack (1982) assessed traditionality and self-esteem, via self-report instruments, in married nonproblem-drinking women (ages 19-52). Subjects attended either "wet" (alcoholic beverages served) or "dry" (no alcoholic beverages served) cocktail parties, with the self-report measures being administered both before and after the parties. The authors found that, in the "wet" parties, traditional women experienced a greater decrease in self-esteem than did non-traditional women after drinking, although their pre-drinking self-esteem levels were equivalent. In addition, traditional women showed a greater decrease in self-esteem after the "wet" parties than did traditional women after the "dry" parties, despite their equivalent pre-party self-esteem levels. Thus, there is a notable decrease in the self-esteem of traditional women who drink, perhaps resulting from their feeling that they have violated expectations of the feminine role--their own expectations, as well as society's (Gomberg, 1979). In any case, the decreased self-esteem of the traditional women drinkers can play a direct causal role in the formation of an abusive drinking pattern; low self-esteem is related to alcohol abuse (Beckman, 1978a; Carroll et al., 1982), and probably plays a causal role (Samuels & Samuels, 1974). Most alcoholism researchers agree that loss of a positive self-concept is a primary factor

the motivation of alcoholic behavior (Blane, 1968). There appears to be a circular connection, in which traditional women who cannot meet their role-demands begin to drink as a means of escape; this drinking then leads to a decrease in self-esteem due to their violating sex-role expectations. In the final link of the chain, the low self-esteem becomes a causal factor in increased drinking, which further lowers self-esteem, and so forth.

It has been proposed that the traditional woman who drinks experiences some degree of conflict about her sex-role. "To the extent that women depart from appropriate sex-role behaviors, they will experience some role confusion because they are violating expectations" (Schuckit & Morrissey, 1976, p. 13). The issues regarding role conflict and its relation to the use and abuse of alcohol in women have received much attention in the recent literature. However, researchers in this area have seemed to accept a general notion of appropriate sex-role identity and behavior, and have applied this notion to women of all ages. The researchers have not yet fully taken into account the fact that sexual identity in women follows a developmental course, so that what can be construed as "appropriate" sexual identity in women of one age group might be very different from that of women in another age group. This acceptance of a "universal" notion of gender-

appropriate sexual identity has resulted in some contradictory findings in the recent literature. However, the results of the studies on sex-role conflict become less contradictory, and more clear, when a developmental perspective of sexual identity is incorporated.

In the available literature, conflict over sex-role identity has been broken down into two categories: external and internal conflict. External conflict has been defined as a disparity between an individual's sex-role image and cultural demands for opposite-gender behavior (Beckman, 1978a). An example of one such conflict might be a new wife's internalized "masculine" sex-typed behavioral expectations (e.g., for assertiveness) versus her husband's, family's, and society's demands and expectations for traditional feminine behavior (e.g., for sensitivity and deference in the face of the needs of others).

In internal sex-role identity conflict, conflict is said to exist within the individual, between two different internalized levels of sexual identity. Two forms of internal conflict have been explored. First, a "conscious" internal conflict implies the existence of a discrepancy between two conscious levels of sexual identity, such as sex-role behaviors or image and sex-role preference. That is, a discrepancy is said to exist between what a woman

does or how she perceives herself to be, and what she values, or would like to be. An internal conflict has also been postulated on an "unconscious" level. For example, a woman's conscious feminine sex-role image may be in conflict with her more unconscious, earlier-formed, masculine sexual identity.

Studies have shown that external sex-role identity conflict typically results when women have shown so-called "masculine" attitudes, interests, and behaviors, while societal demands have called for a more traditionally feminine image. In this case, a woman would not be accepted as she is, and she may feel torn between fulfilling her own desires and fulfilling the demands of others. Being herself means meeting with societal disapproval; living out the traditional female role means giving in and taking on some of the typically feminine attributes from which she may have been turning initially. As Schultz (1979, p. 31) states in "Radical Feminism: A Treatment Modality for Addicted Women," women do "have these so-called 'masculine traits' of aggressiveness, competitiveness, anger, and desire for power. Accordingly, [women] have been disliked, rejected, and forced to repress any traits which are not so-called 'feminine' and, therefore, acceptable to males." Schultz (1979) suggests that alcohol use, and potentially abuse, is an outlet for these masculine

traits. Women who choose to respond to societal demands for a "feminine" lifestyle use alcohol as a means of expressing their unexpressed "masculine" characteristics. If they have to be feminine, at least they can "drink like a man."

Indirect support for Schultz's (1979) assertions can be found in various suggestions for modes of alcoholism treatment for women, including those of the United States Department of Health and Human Services (1983) and the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (1979). They propose that treatment for female and male alcoholics should be separate, with treatment for women focusing on increasing self-esteem, feelings of independence, and the ability to express anger when sober. In other words, treatment for women should focus on teaching other, acceptable outlets for certain "masculine" characteristics.

In contrast to the choice of giving in to external societal demands, some women may choose to live the kind of life they desire and to express their "masculine" attitudes, interests, and behaviors despite cultural pressures to do otherwise. This works well for some; many successful career women have been characterized as having more "masculine" than "feminine" traits (Beckman, 1978b). However, the violation of gender-appropriate standards, and the disapproval this receives from others, may be a

source of great stress. The stress generated from this conflict could play a role in the increase of drinking problems.

Numerous studies have supported this theory. Women who are involved in stereotypically masculine roles have a high incidence of alcoholism and alcohol-related problems. Alcoholic women are more likely to be members of the work force than are non-alcoholic women (Schuckit & Morrissey, 1976). In a study of posttreatment success for alcoholism, Bateman and Petersen (1972) found that women with low-status occupations have higher rates of abstinence six months after treatment than do women with higher occupational statuses. Interestingly, this same relationship between abstinence and occupational status did not hold for male subjects. Schuckit and Morrissey (1976, p. 14) comment on this finding, claiming that perhaps "women working in low-status occupations represent less of a departure from the traditional female role, since they would probably be employed in clerical, secretarial, and domestic positions." The less the departure from the traditional female role, the less severe the societal disapproval. "Women in higher-status occupations, on the other hand, are more likely to have made a career commitment--a typically masculine role" (p. 14).

College attendance follows the same pattern as does

employment in women: Studies show higher rates of heavy drinking among college women than among women in the general population (Filmore, 1974). While college attendance is not strictly a masculine behavior, it has been more acceptable and deemed more important for men to strive for higher education in our society. Furthermore, the responsibility to care for oneself and the relative independence of college students are more stereotypically masculine characteristics. As with occupational status, Bateman and Petersen (1972) found higher educational levels in female alcoholism patients to be related to poor posttreatment prognosis, while there was no relationship between educational level and probability of abstinence six months after treatment in men. It may be that the greater sex-role deviance of the more highly educated women made abstinence more difficult (Schuckit & Morrissey, 1976).

While the form of external sex-role conflict described above has been found to be most demonstrated in the available literature, its generalizability seems limited in two major ways. This form of conflict implies that both the woman in question and the society with which she interacts assume that feminine sex-typed behavior, attitudes, and interests are appropriate (if not desirable) for women. However, while this might have been the case in the past, there have been clear changes in the views

of sex-roles in our society. Opportunities and expectations for today's women have increased and broadened; in fact, some of the aspects of the traditional female role are not only no longer considered appropriate, but are negatively regarded. For example, women who choose not to pursue higher education and/or a career, but who decide instead to marry, raise a family, and be a homemaker, may meet with disapproval from certain factions of our society. Thus, a new form of external conflict may be developing, in which "feminine" women are confronted with societal expectations for more traditionally "masculine" behavior; this form, too, may contribute to drinking problems in women. This incipient conflict might prove to be a promising area for future prospective, high risk research.

The second major limitation of the generalizability of the views of external sex-role conflict is the implicit assumption that the behaviors, attitudes, and interests deemed appropriate are constant for women of all ages. This view does not take into account the developmental nature of sexual identity in women. That is, what is "appropriate" for women in different stages of sexual identity development is different. During certain stages, for example, it is appropriate and developmentally necessary for women to adopt a more "masculine" sexual identity. This will be discussed in more detail below; the important

consideration here is that the notion of an external conflict must be flexible enough to account for the changeable nature of sexual identity through a woman's life.

The same consideration is necessary with respect to studies of internal sexual identity conflict. Researchers have looked at two forms of internal conflict: conscious and unconscious. Internal conflict can exist between two conscious levels of functioning; that is, a conflict between what a woman perceives herself to be and what she values or wants to be. Wilsnack and Wilsnack (1978) explored this type of conflict in adolescent women. Using data from a 1974 national survey of 15,000 students grades seven through twelve, they looked at the relationship between sex-role acceptance or rejection and reported drinking patterns. Wilsnack and Wilsnack's (1978) results indicated that, among adolescent women, there was a small relationship between problem drinking and rejection of the traditional female role. More specifically, girls with negative feelings towards academic achievement and social obligations, and a positive desire for independence, were likely to drink more, in more symptomatic ways, and with more negative consequences. An alternative hypothesis-- that these observed relationships resulted from more traditionally feminine girls showing greater self-restraint

in drinking--was not supported: Among the girls who did drink, only those who rejected traditional femininity showed a significant correlation between how much they rejected the female role and how much they drank, how symptomatically, and with how many negative consequences.¹

Scida and Vannicelli (1979) also looked at internal conflict between two conscious levels of sexual identity, this time in adult women. Using the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), alcoholic, problem drinking, and normal drinking women (ages ranging from 17 to 57 years) indicated on a seven-point scale how well a number of adjectives characterized them. This procedure was designed to give a measure of perceived (real) sexual self-image. These same women were also asked to rate the same set of adjectives for their desirability, thus indicating valued or desired (ideal) sexual self-image. Scida and Vannicelli (1979) compared these two data sets and found that problem drinkers and alcoholics showed a greater discrepancy between their perceived selves and their desired self-images than did subjects classified as normal drinkers. This discrepancy was not directional: Patterns of both perceived

¹A point to note in this study is that all sex-role questions were asked in idealistic or future-oriented terms, and thus were measures of desire to reject or accept the traditional role, rather than current sex-role image. Therefore, it is unclear whether external conflict actually existed.

femininity/desired masculinity and perceived masculinity/desired femininity were found.

In interpreting their data, Scida and Vannicelli (1979) proposed that greater sexual conflict per se, and not any particular direction of conflict, is related to problem drinking and alcoholism. In considering their data, it may be that both types of conflict were found because the age range of their subjects was quite broad (17 to 57 years). It is quite possible that different age groups were in different developmental stages of sexual identity, which would influence their perceptions of both their own sexual self-images and the type of image they considered ideal. It is also conceivable that the age subgroups of subjects were differentially influenced by quite different views of traditional sex-roles. Among the alcoholic women, for example, the age range went from 18 to 57 years. The older subgroup of these women might have been less influenced by the forces of the Women's Movement than was the younger subgroup. The older subgroup, then, might have viewed the stereotypical female role more positively, and as more desirable, than did the younger alcoholics. This could account for Scida and Vannicelli's (1979) finding conflicts in both directions. It might have been useful to examine real self/desired self patterns of each age subgroup separately, to see whether a significant age effect

existed.

A final type of internal sexual identity conflict that has been studied, and which has received the most attention in the recent literature, is the unconscious type. In this sort of conflict, a discrepancy is said to exist between a woman's conscious sense of her sexual identity and her more unconscious sexual identification (as determined primarily by responses on projective tests and measures of expressive style). Studies have used both adult women and adolescent subjects.

In one study on unconscious conflict in adult women, Parker (1972) looked at women alcoholics and moderate drinkers (mean ages 43.6 and 41.5 years, respectively), in terms of their role-relevant preferences and intensity of emotionality. Role-relevant preferences were construed as an aspect of conscious sexual identity, while emotionality, according to Parker, was an indication of unconscious feminine gender identification. Parker (1972) found that femininity of role-relevant preferences decreased significantly with increasing severity of alcoholism among his subjects. On the other hand, emotionality significantly increased with increasing severity of drinking problems. The data, then, indicated that as the drinking problem increased in severity, the discrepancy between conscious rejection of the feminine role and unconscious

identification with femininity became greater. Thus, problem drinking was shown to be significantly related to the existence of an unconscious conflict. It should be noted that the significant relationship between drinking and emotionality found here supports the theory that women problem drinkers may overidentify with the female role in some sense, perhaps to compensate for their rejection of this role at another level. As shall be elaborated below, a number of researchers have found a pattern of "ultrafemininity" in female alcohol abusers.

A few criticisms can be directed at Parker's (1972) study. First, while role-relevant preference would appear to tenably reflect a conscious aspect of sexual identity, it could be argued that it may not be reflecting what the women actually perceive themselves to be like. Rather, it implies a desired, not a real, image. It would be important to address the issue of sex-role enactment or "real" sexual identity (i.e., the way a woman actually perceives herself to be), in addition to desired image, when exploring unconscious conflict. Second, Parker's (1972) use of emotionality as a measure of unconscious sexual identification is questionable. The test items he used focused on the intensity of emotions such as anger, fear, and pity. This measure might be more an indicator of emotional instability, or even severity of pathology,

than of unconscious feminine identification (Beckman, 1978b). Finally, a work of caution regarding the use of Parker's (1972) findings is in order. The data showed a significant correlation between conscious rejection of characteristics of the feminine sex-role and problem drinking. This association does not, however, necessarily indicate the presence of conscious masculinity, as several reviewers have erroneously suggested; rejection of one role does not necessarily imply acceptance of the other (Bem, 1974, 1984).

A second study of unconscious conflict in adult women was done by Wilsnack (1973). Unconscious gender identity (an unconscious schema of oneself as masculine or feminine which develops early in life), sex-role style (one's general approach to life, or one's sex-typed actions and ways of behaving that are generally not in conscious awareness), and conscious sex-typed attitudes and interests (or conscious masculinity-femininity) were determined for twenty-eight alcoholic and twenty-eight non-alcoholic women, matched for age (mean age = 44.3 years), education, socioeconomic status, and national background. The Franck Drawing Completion Test (Franck & Rosen, 1949) was used to assess unconscious gender identity. The sex-role style measure consisted of a number of true-false items which have differentiated men and women in previous research

and which appear to be related to the assertiveness-interdependence dimension of interpersonal style. Three measures of conscious sexual identity were used: a) a set of true-false items of sex-typed attitudes and interests, b) a physical appearance checklist completed by an interviewer, and c) a measure of attitudes toward the maternal role.

Wilsnack (1973) found that the responses of the alcoholics and controls did not significantly differ on the first two measures of conscious femininity, although there was a nonsignificant tendency for the alcoholics to give more feminine responses to the attitudes and interests questions. On the attitudes toward the maternal role questions (the third measure of conscious femininity), however, the alcoholics responded in a significantly more feminine way than did the controls. A potential confound which might have produced this observed difference is actual childbearing experience, and, in fact, the alcoholics had fewer children than did the controls. While this difference might explain why many alcoholics wished that they had had more children, Wilsnack (1973) notes that what is important in the present context is that the alcoholics did not consciously reject the female role. "Rather, they appeared to value it, perhaps to an exaggerated, 'hyperfeminine' degree" (Wilsnack, 1973, p. 27).

On the measure of the more unconscious sex-role style, the alcoholics gave significantly more masculine responses than did the controls. Similarly, on the Franck Drawing Completion Test (Franck & Rosen, 1949), the alcoholics showed significantly more masculine unconscious gender identifications than did the controls. Thus, Wilsnack's (1973) findings suggest that adult women alcoholics are characterized by a pattern of conscious femininity and unconscious masculinity.

While Wilsnack's (1973) study provides useful information regarding alcoholic women in their mid-forties, her results might not be generalizable to women of different --and particularly younger--ages (and therefore in different developmental stages of life). One notable characteristic of Wilsnack's (1973) subjects is that they had recently passed their childbearing years. Therefore, their attitudes toward the maternal role undoubtedly have a different meaning or salience in their lives than they would to younger women who may still bear children. The alcoholics in Wilsnack's (1973) study had fewer children than did the controls, and wished they had had more. Although it is not known how many of the women were childless, it may be that the relative lack of children of the alcoholics had an important influence on their unconscious sense of themselves as women, thereby producing the more masculine

gender identities of this group. This effect would be less likely in women who are in their early or middle childbearing years.

Scida and Vannicelli (1979), in a study cited earlier, also looked at unconscious conflict in adult women alcoholics, problem drinkers, and normal drinkers (ages 17 to 57 years). Using the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) as the primary measure of conscious sex-role identity and the Machover Draw-A-Person Test (Machover, 1949) as an indicator of unconscious gender identity, Scida and Vannicelli (1979) found a significant correlation between size of conscious-unconscious sexual identity discrepancy and severity of drinking problem. No particular directionality of pattern was found; both conscious feminine/unconscious masculine and conscious masculine/unconscious feminine patterns of sexual identity were related to problem drinking. These results support Scida and Vannicelli's (1979) claim that amount of conflict, rather than type of conflict, is related to problem drinking in women. However, they did find that alcoholics were somewhat more likely to show unconscious masculine gender identities than were non-alcoholics. As mentioned earlier, however, there are a number of possible confounds in this study: The alcoholics were, on the average, considerably older than the non-alcoholics, and the age range of the

subjects was quite broad. Scida and Vannicelli's (1979) finding two, opposite patterns of identity conflict may be the result of their including subjects in different stages of sexual identity development. Certainly, the age-appropriate sense of oneself as a woman in one's late teens and early twenties is different from that in one's fifties. Again, examining unconscious conflict in sexual identity in different age subgroups might have been more useful.

Some studies have focused on drinking problems in younger women. Parker (1975) looked at the role-relevant preferences (his measure of conscious femininity) of female college students. By examining the characteristics of heavily-drinking women before they have reached the age at which alcoholism typically has its onset, and then comparing these results to those of his previous (1972) study, Parker (1975) hoped to isolate some specific patterns that might be good predictors of alcoholism in adult women. Furthermore, by eliminating diagnosed alcoholics from his study, Parker (1975) removed the confounding effects of being labeled an alcoholic by oneself and others on sexual identity. In accordance with his previous study, Parker (1975) found that the femininity of role-relevant preference scores decreased significantly with increases in problematic drinking, suggesting that heavy-drinking young women tend

to reject significant conscious components of the traditional female role. Of clinical interest is Parker's (1975) finding that heavy-drinking college women differed from light- and moderate-drinking college women and from the moderate-drinking adult women in his 1972 study, but did not differ from the adult women alcoholics in his earlier study. While there are numerous confounds in comparing subjects from separate studies, Parker (1975) believes that these findings suggest that the heavy-drinking college women sample might contain some potential alcoholics or women who are at high risk for becoming alcoholic.

In a longitudinal study by Jones (1971) on "personality antecedents and correlates of drinking patterns in women," sexual identity issues (among other factors) were studied in subjects from early adolescence (junior high school) through adulthood (late forties). At various intervals, different personality measures were administered, including Q-sorts, structured clinical interviews, ability and personality tests, and classmate (peer) ratings.² In adulthood, the women were classified as problem drinkers, heavy-, moderate-, or light-drinkers, or abstainers,

²The interval length varied for different measures: The Q-sort data were collected once each from junior high school, high school, and adulthood, while the interview and peer rating data were collected more frequently (the exact interval lengths were unspecified).

based on interview data and physicians' records. Jones (1971) found that Q-sort ratings from adolescence through adulthood showed high agreement and consistency over ratings and over time. She claimed that "the cohorts in various adult drinking categories are differentiated by a core of traits which are discernible to raters in the early adolescent period" (Jones, 1971, p. 63). That is, certain clusters of Q-sort descriptors found in adolescence were associated with membership in specific adult drinking categories.

The adult women in the problem drinking group rated themselves on the Q-sort tasks significantly differently than did the other groups of drinkers, on several dimensions: greater vulnerability; greater feelings of guilt; being less productive, incisive, and independent; and having lower aspirational levels. Many of these characteristics had similarly been assessed in these women when they were adolescents. These dimensions are characteristic of the stereotypical female role, as opposed to the male role (Bem, 1974; Broverman et al., 1970). Since the results were obtained by self-ratings, it may be inferred that the conscious sexual identities of this problem drinking group were quite feminine ones. Jones (1971) reports anecdotal data in support of this inference. She noted that the typical adult problem drinker (and the

adolescent future-problem-drinker) was described by observing clinical psychologists as someone who "escapes into ultrafemininity" (p. 68).

While the conscious self-images of the problem drinkers were notably feminine, their interpersonal styles were much less so. Jones (1971) reports that their behaviors seemed to present obstacles to good interpersonal relationships; the behaviors of the problem drinking group, in adolescence as well as adulthood, were judged by Q-sorts and by behavioral ratings by experienced raters to be more hostile, unexpressive, distrustful, and lacking in social presence and perceptiveness than were the behaviors of the non-problem drinkers. This pattern of behaviors seems to constitute what has been called sex-role style, which has been construed as a relatively unconscious level of identity (Wilsnack, 1973). The style of the problem drinkers seems to be more masculine, as opposed to the traditionally warm and expressive feminine style (Broverman et al., 1970).

Thus, Jones' (1971) study supports Wilsnack's (1973) findings that the pattern of unconscious masculine and conscious feminine sexual identity is related to problem drinking in adult women. Jones' (1971) study extends these findings into the adolescent years. She claims that "adult alcohol-related behavior is to some extent an expression

of personality tendencies which are exhibited before drinking patterns have become established" (Jones, 1971, p. 61), so it would follow that "alcohol-related behavior may be partly predicted from early personality characteristics" (p. 61).

It is interesting that, while both Wilsnack's (1973) and Jones' (1971) adult problem drinkers showed a similar pattern of conscious feminine/unconscious masculine sexual identity, the researchers' adolescent samples' patterns differed from each other. Jones' (1971) future-problem-drinking adolescent sample was judged to be consciously "ultrafeminine," while Wilsnack and Wilsnack's (1978) heavy-drinking adolescent girls were found to consciously reject the female role. This difference might be understood in two ways. First, Jones' (1971) and Wilsnack and Wilsnack's (1978) adolescent samples were socialized during very different time periods: Jones' sample, in the early 1940's; Wilsnack and Wilsnack's sample, in the 1960's and 1970's. The societal sex-typed standards and expectations that predominated during these times were quite dissimilar. It is possible that Jones' (1971) adolescent sample would be more likely to consciously overidentify with the then-highly-regarded traditional feminine role (perhaps to compensate for an unconscious masculine identity), while Wilsnack and Wilsnack's (1978) adolescents (and Parker's

(1975) college students) would consciously reject the currently-less-desirable stereotypical feminine role (perhaps to compensate for an unconscious feminine identification or desire to be very feminine).

Another possible explanation for the observed differences in the adolescents' sexual identity patterns might be that the majority of subjects in the different studies were tested while in different stages of sexual identity development. As will be discussed in greater detail below, young women (through college age) typically progress through successive stages of gender identity development. In fact, in one of these stages, it is normal and appropriate for a young woman to develop a more masculine identity, to reject certain early-formed feminine identifications, in preparation for developing a new, more mature sexual identity. It is likely that the patterns of sexual identity which are problematic at any given time (and which therefore may be related to problem drinking) depend on the developmental stage of the person; a problematic pattern in one stage may be the opposite of the problematic pattern associated with another stage. Therefore, different patterns of sexual identity in problem drinking adolescents and college students in Jones' (1971), Wilsnack and Wilsnack's (1978), and Parker's (1975) studies might be due to the different developmental stages of their

subjects.

Some attention has been given to what functions drinking might serve for women who experience internal conflict over their sexual identity. In one sense, any kind of conflict can be regarded as producing stress or anxiety. And since alcohol is a depressant, which decreases arousal of the central nervous system, alcohol consumption would physically calm women who are experiencing stress.

With regard to more intrapsychic functions, if a discrepancy between conscious and unconscious gender identity does in fact exist, women may be able to alter one pole of that discrepancy, and produce internal congruence, either by drinking, or by some other means more easily when drinking. Wilsnack (1973), who found the conscious feminine/unconscious masculine pattern to predominate in problem drinking women, suggested that this particular conflict is stressful because the women experiencing it feel inadequate. She claims that if a woman consciously identifies herself as feminine, then unconscious feelings or impulses deviating from the traditional female pattern may arouse insecurities. These insecurities would be about one's adequacy as a woman, and would leave the woman wishing to be more adequate.

A number of studies by Wilsnack support this claim that women with a conscious feminine/unconscious masculine

sexual identity conflict drink to feel more adequate as women. In a pilot study, Wilsnack (1974) asked twenty non-problem drinking women to list ten adjectives that described how they felt after drinking two drinks. The most frequent responses were "warm, loving, considerate, expressive, open, pretty, affectionate, sexy, and feminine." For these subjects, drinking made them feel more like traditional women. In another study by Wilsnack (1974), in which sober women were required to write stories to Thematic Apperception Test cards, it was shown that heavy drinking women wrote more masculine stories, on the basis of more frequent personal power and aggression themes, than did social drinkers. Furthermore, Wilsnack (1974) found in this study that after drinking, the frequency of personal power and aggression themes in the stories decreased for the women classified as heavy drinkers; the frequency of themes of social power was not affected.

The findings from Wilsnack (1974) can be interpreted as supporting the assertion that drinking serves to decrease the salience of unconscious masculine characteristics, especially since social power, a quality appropriate in the traditional female role, did not decrease with drinking. Furthermore, Wilsnack (1974) found that women who attended parties where alcohol was served evidenced increased scores on a "Being Orientation" code after drinking, as compared

to women who attended parties where no alcohol was served. The "Being Orientation" code corresponds to a sense of contentment with the present time, and stands in contrast to a "Doing Orientation", which is a goal-oriented, typically masculine outlook. High scores on the "Being Orientation" code, which happen to be characteristic of the fantasies of nursing mothers during breast-feeding (Winter, 1969), are interpreted as reflecting a more feminine orientation. Thus, Wilsnack's (1974) studies suggest that drinking may serve the intrapsychic function of reducing the salience of unconscious masculine qualities and enhancing feminine characteristics. For role-conflicted women, both these shifts would serve to decrease the discrepancy between the conscious and unconscious aspects of sexual identity. Both, then, would temporarily resolve the conflict. In fact, this temporary resolution of internal conflict and its consequent feeling of internal congruence might be a causal factor in the development of a pattern of excessive drinking in the role-conflicted women. It might be that such fundamentally comforting effects from drinking would outweigh other general negative consequences (such as social disapproval and physical side-effects).

Scida and Vannicelli (1979) also looked at ways in which alcohol consumption might reduce sexual identity

conflict. In addition to measuring subjects' sexual images when sober ("dry"), and the sex-role image they most valued or desired ("ideal"), Scida and Vannicelli (1979) asked their subjects to rate their sex-role images when drinking ("wet"). The researchers also used the Machover Draw-A-Person Test (Machover, 1949) to ascertain subjects' unconscious gender identities.

Some of the results from this study have been presented earlier: The discrepancy between "dry" self-image and "ideal" self-image (i.e., conscious conflict) and the discrepancy between "dry" image and unconscious gender identity (i.e., unconscious conflict) were positively correlated with severity of drinking problem. In this study, the existence of conflict, not its directionality or form, emerged as the concept of importance.

Scida and Vannicelli (1979) examined the functions drinking might serve in reducing sexual identity conflict. They predicted that, if drinking does in fact reduce conscious conflict, then the discrepancy between conscious "wet" sexual self-image and "ideal" self-image should either be unrelated or negatively related to problem drinking. Similarly, regarding unconscious conflict, they predicted that the discrepancy between "wet" sexual self-image and unconscious sexual identity should be either unrelated or negatively related to problem drinking. Scida and

Vannicelli's (1979) predictions were confirmed: The two discrepancies were found to be statistically unrelated to problem drinking.

However, the evidence regarding the instrumental use of alcohol to reduce conflict was equivocal. In the case of real image/ideal image (i.e., conscious) conflict, Scida and Vannicelli (1979) predicted that, for the heavier drinkers, the "wet" images should move closer to the ideal images (i.e., the discrepancy between perceived or real self and ideal self should decrease with increased drinking). This prediction was not confirmed; "wet" image/ideal image discrepancy was relatively constant over the normal-drinking, problem-drinking, and alcoholic women. However, the authors did find that the "wet" image/ideal image discrepancy was nearly twice as big as the "dry" image/ideal image discrepancy for the normal drinkers, yet nearly equal to the "dry" image/ideal image for the alcoholics. That is, normal-drinking women perceive themselves to be much more like their ideal selves when they are sober than when they are drinking. Or, put another way, drinking has some negative effect on these women's self-images; when they drink, the normal-drinking women's sexual self-images become more discrepant from their ideal images. On the other hand, the alcoholic women's "wet" sexual self-images are not more discrepant than their "dry"

sexual self-images from their ideal self-images. Unlike the normal drinkers, the alcoholics did not perceive themselves to be less like their valued selves when drinking. Scida and Vannicelli (1979, p. 39) conclude that the "fact that among women alcoholics conflict between valued self-image and actual self-image is not greater when drinking than when not drinking, despite the increased drinking problems, could suggest that there may be some sort of trade-off occurring." More specifically, it seems that despite the general negative consequences of alcohol abuse on self-image and self-esteem (Beckman, 1978a), "...some closer approximation of the sexual ideal may be achieved for alcoholics" (Scida & Vannicelli, 1979, p. 39).

With regard to unconscious conflict, Scida and Vannicelli (1979) found that in the "dry" condition, the heavier-drinking women (alcoholics and problem drinkers) showed a greater perceived image/unconscious image discrepancy than did the non-problem drinkers. However, when drinking, the conscious self-images of the heavier drinkers were closer to their unconscious images; the non-problem drinkers' "wet" self-images, on the other hand, were more discrepant from their unconscious images. Scida and Vannicelli's (1979) findings, then, suggest that identity-conflicted women are more likely than non-conflicted women to show problematic drinking patterns,

and that drinking seems to provide at least some resolution of the conflict.

One major limitation of Scida and Vannicelli's (1979) study is that the women were asked to simulate their sexual self-images when drinking; alcoholic beverages were not actually consumed. Gathering data under imagined rather than actual conditions might have introduced artificiality into the "wet" self-image scores.

The previous literature generally concludes that conflict over one's sexual identity plays a role in problem drinking in women. However, the nature of the conflict remains unclear, as different studies provide contradictory evidence regarding the pattern of conflict associated with problem drinking.

A number of confounds in, and limitations of, the existing literature might account for this confusion. First, some of the conclusions drawn by previous researchers may in fact be misleading, as the instruments used in several of the studies do not measure what they are said to measure. Parker's (1972) questionable use of "emotionality" as a measure of unconscious sexual identity, for example, has been mentioned above. In addition, many of the instruments used to assess conscious sexual identity are suspect. The two instruments which have been used most often for this purpose are the Personal Attributes

Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974), and the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). However, these instruments may not be valid measures of conscious masculinity or femininity, as much of the research claims. Spence and Helmreich (1984, p. 2) write:

It should be noted that the PAQ [Personal Attributes Questionnaire] is a self-report instrument tapping limited types of abstract personality traits that are gender-differentiating. Nonetheless, the PAQ (and other similar instruments) has frequently been identified in the literature as a "sex-role" measure or as a measure of sex-role orientation. These labels are inaccurate as description of the item content. Furthermore, the relationship between self-assertive and expressive traits, as measured by the PAQ and other personality inventories, and measures of sex-role attitudes, sex-role preferences, and various gender-related behaviors tend to be weak or complex, if found at all.

If the investigators' focus of interest is in individual differences in sex-role attitudes, role preferences, or responsiveness to situationally induced sex-role demands, the PAQ--a personality test of expressive and instrumental qualities--is not the appropriate instrument....The PAQ M and F scales should also not be considered as general measures of "masculinity" and "femininity."

Similar objections have been raised with regard to the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). While Bem claims that the Bem Sex-Role Inventory can in fact predict certain gender-related behaviors, it is clear that the instrument was not meant to be a measure of conscious sex-role identity, attitudes, or preferences (Bem, 1984). Instead, the measure was constructed in accord with Bem's "gender-schema" theory to identify individuals who are

spontaneously inclined to organize information--especially information about the self--on the basis of gender (Bem, 1984). That is, the Bem Sex-Role Inventory is useful for defining people as sex-typed or gender-schematic, as opposed to androgynous. Gender-schematic individuals tend to view the world in terms of gender categories to a greater extent than do non-gender-schematic individuals. This is a kind of cognitive process, and is not necessarily a conscious one. Thus, while the Bem Sex-Role Inventory can provide useful and important information, it is not a measure of conscious sex-role identity, attitudes, or preferences.

Another instrument that seems problematic is the Machover Draw-A-Person Test (Machover, 1949). The subject is asked to draw a person, and the gender of the figure drawn first is taken as an indicator of the subject's unconscious gender identity. While this test has an appealing face validity, its validity as a measure of unconscious gender identity is questionable (May, 1980). The Draw-A-Person Test might be more useful as an adjunct to a more valid instrument.

Another limitation of the previous studies on the relationship between sexual identity and problem drinking in women is the nearly exclusive reliance on self-report, written data, both objective and projective. With the exception of May's (1969, 1975) studies on the utility

of the Deprivation/Enhancement scale (to be discussed below), there has been little or no behavioral validation of the written measures of sexual identity or conflict. The practice of comparing a written measure of sexual identity to another standard written measure of the same construct is not sufficient, because tests can be correlated with each other simply because they have a procedural method in common (MacDonald & Tyson, 1984). It has not yet been shown that women whose responses differ on written measures of sexual identity actually behave differently.

A final limitation in the previous research is the lack of sufficient attention to subject characteristics. Much of the research used subjects from a broad range of ages, without addressing the facts that women of different ages were socialized according to different societal sex-typed standards, and that they are likely to be in different stages of sexual identity development. Few researchers have acknowledged that what is normative and appropriate for one stage is likely to be inappropriate and conflictual for another.

The purpose of the present study was to explore the relationship between sexual identity at successive developmental stages and problem drinking in college women. The utility of looking at college women is three-fold. First, these women are at an age in which patterns

alcohol use are just developing, making this a crucial time for intervention. Second, the relatively narrow range of ages of the subjects allows for some clarity on the societal sex-role norms and expectations that were prevalent during the subjects' early developmental years, when they were first learning about the roles that boys and girls were expected to adopt. Finally, there is a natural developmental shift in sexual identity that occurs during the college years, discussed in some detail below, that permits comparison of drinking patterns in two different developmental stages without excessively broadening the age range of the subjects.

According to theorists, sexual identity, which is a major aspect of ego identity, follows a fairly predictable developmental course. "Sexual identity" refers to one's basic sense of oneself as a man or a woman, which determines significantly the way a person relates to the world (Cramer, 1980). Gender differences in sexual identity begin to appear in early childhood. From this time on, gender differences in basic sexual identity increase as the child becomes more identified with his or her same-sex parent and becomes socialized according to traditional sex-typed roles. These gender differences tend to peak in early- and mid-adolescence, and again in early adulthood. However, in between these peaks--that is, in the latter high school

and early college years--gender differences in sexual identity decrease, and may actually reverse, with girls becoming more "masculine" than boys. This time period constitutes an important stage in identity development and, in particular, in sexual identity development (Erikson, 1950). The literature on this stage of development will be reviewed here, focusing especially on identity development in women.

"At about the time of entering college most people embark upon the second phase of adolescence" (Katz, 1975, p. 43). This period of transition from childhood to adulthood is a time of shifting values and goals. Blos (1962) has called this time a phase of "dedifferentiation," in which a young woman gives up her early childhood beliefs and identifications in preparation for the establishment of a mature adult identity. Away from home, faced with new tasks, experiences, and roles, "one of the major tasks facing the college student is the establishment of a new identity in distinction from the one given in [her] original family situation" (Katz, 1975, p. 55).

During the period of dedifferentiation, a young woman is free for a time to experiment with and try on new identities. Most often, she will turn to her peer group, both male and female, for identity alternatives to try out. Giovacchini (1979, p. 262) claims that the girl in

this stage often has to "rebel against the standards presented to her as femininity....She has to seek her own standards, and, as so often happens with adolescents, she seeks them among her peers. She turns to boys because, unlike the 'feminine' females of the parental generation, they seem assertive and unafraid to move toward the world." Erikson (1968, pp. 282-283) similarly states that the late adolescent female, in the process of developing a new sexual identity, "appears hermaphroditic if not downright masculine."

Developmental theorists agree that this stage of dedifferentiation, or regression to the childlike state before feminine sexual identity initially occurred, is a necessary precondition for the development of a mature female sexual identity, based on reliable values, ideals, and goals. From this stage emerges a woman with a renewed but more adult and coherent sense of herself as a woman; in fact, gender differences in sexual identity reappear in early adulthood (late college-age).

Evidence for this progression in identity development is both intuitive and empirical. It is common to see freshman and sophomore college women "trying on" various new roles and identities, taking courses in a wide variety of disciplines, looking for new and different people to meet, and asking "who am I, and what kind of woman do I

want to be?" Women in their freshman and sophomore years are known to be more "wild" and more socially outgoing, to drink more (Student Affairs Research and Evaluation Office, 1984), and to generally become less stereotypically "feminine" (and usually more "masculine") than older college students. In their final years of college, on the other hand, women typically seem to be less self-questioning, more sure of their career goals and aspirations, and to have more of a sense of themselves as women.

Empirical evidence also corroborates this conceptualization of sexual identity development in women. May (1966) developed a procedure for assessing sexual identity, as reflected in patterns of verbal fantasy. The female pattern of verbal fantasy "is characterized by a repeated cycle of distress or pain, followed by relief or pleasure, and is referred to as deprivation followed by enhancement. The male pattern is characterized by rising and falling (expectations of success and the fear of failure) and is referred to as enhancement followed by deprivation" (Cramer, 1980, p. 604). In a study of 686 children, adolescents, and college students, Cramer (1980) found significant gender differences in sexual identity scores (with females showing the more feminine patterns) in all age groups except two: preschool children (ages 3 to 5 years) and late adolescents (high school seniors

and college freshmen). In fact, in one case, there was a trend for the patterns of the college freshmen to be reversed, with the women showing a more masculine fantasy pattern than the men. In the final two years of college, women showed a return to a stronger feminine pattern of sexual identity. This study, then, provides evidence for the waxing and waning, developmental nature of sexual identity, in the manner predicted by developmental theorists.

A number of researchers have attempted to clarify the nature of identity development during the college years. Perry (1970) explored forms of intellectual and cognitive development in college students. He found that students tend to move from more absolutistic and less qualified perceptions, attitudes, and responses to those that are more differentiated, more tolerant, more complex, and more flexible. This suggests that, early in their college years, students tend to be more cognitively rigid and inhibited. Katz (1975) proposed that this type of rigidity is an important way for students to reduce some of the anxiety inherent in the process of identity change and development; that is, it allows students to appear certain while trying out and questioning various alternative identities. Once a mature and stable identity has been developed, the student feels freer to be more cognitively flexible, variable,

tolerant, and open.

Marcia (1966) provides a paradigm for classifying students with respect to their current identity statuses. This paradigm is based on two criteria, crisis and commitment. Crisis refers to a process of active questioning, of trying on different identities and choosing among meaningful alternatives. Commitment refers to the individual's personal investment in the alternative chosen. On the basis of these two criteria, an individual may fall into one of four identity statuses: Identity achievers are those who have experienced a period of crisis and questioning and have emerged with stable commitments and a clear identity. Moratorium individuals are currently in an active crisis period, and therefore have at present vague commitments. Foreclosures "have experienced no crisis, yet have firm, usually parentally determined, commitments" (Marcia & Friedman, 1970, p. 250). Identity diffusions have neither gone through a crisis period nor established commitments. While these identity status categories were developed with male students, focusing on the areas of occupation, religion, and politics (Marcia, 1967), subsequent research has shown these categories to be valid for college women, and in the area of sexual attitudes (Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Waterman & Nevid, 1977).

Waterman et al. (1974), using Marcia's (1966)

categories, conducted a longitudinal study of changes in ego identity status from early in the freshman year to the end of the senior year in college. Subjects were interviewed at the beginning and the end of their freshman year, then again at the end of their senior year. The authors found a significant increase in the number of students in the identity achiever status from the freshman to the senior year, and a significant decrease in the number of moratorium students (those currently in crisis) over time. In addition, there was a significant decrease in the number of foreclosures and identity diffusion students; most of these students moved through the moratorium status into the identity achiever status.

Another important finding from this study concerns the stability of the identity statuses. As predicted, the moratorium status was highly unstable, as most of the students who were moratoriums in their freshman year had reached the identity achiever status by their senior year. Furthermore, students who attained identity achiever status by the end of their freshman year tended to remain in that category. However, students who had arrived at what looked like the identity achiever status before entering college (i.e., those in this category during the early-freshman-year testing) were not very stable; most of these students moved out of the identity achiever status during their

freshman year. This provides direct support for the notion that the new and diverse experiences encountered early in the college years promote the active relinquishing of earlier identifications and the establishment of a more mature, peer-oriented identity. In light of these findings, it is no wonder that Katz (1975) has called the college years "the most opportune time in the human life cycle for a self-engendered remaking of the personality" (p. 45).

Summarizing the theoretical and empirical literature, a picture of the appropriate and adaptive pattern of identity, and sexual identity, development in college women emerges. During the early years of college, women normally enter into a stage of "dedifferentiation" (Blos, 1962) or "moratorium" (Marcia, 1967), in which they give up their earlier identifications and engage in a process of active questioning, experimentation, and trying on of various identities. During this time, their sexual identity, as measured by patterns of verbal fantasy (May, 1966), moves from a feminine pattern to a more neutral or even masculine pattern. Cognitively, these women appear to be rather rigid and absolutistic in their response styles. In contrast, women in the latter years of college have established a more mature and stable identity. Their sexual identity, as reflected in verbal fantasy, again becomes more feminine, but it is based on mature decision

and peer-identifications, rather than on childhood identifications with parental figures. In addition, their stage-appropriate cognitive style is reflected by their increased flexibility and tolerance in response style.

In the present study, the relationship between developmental stage-appropriate identity and problem drinking in college women was explored. It was predicted that college women who were not in synchrony with their normal developmental progression as described above would be more likely to evidence problem drinking behaviors than would women who were following the normal developmental path. Specifically, it was hypothesized that problem drinking freshman/sophomore women would not be in the expected dedifferentiation or moratorium stage. Their deviation from the norm would be reflected in a notably feminine sexual identity as evidenced in verbal fantasy patterns, and in an absence of the rigid or absolutistic cognitive style that normally characterizes this age; that is, a more variable cognitive style was expected for the freshman/sophomore problem drinkers.

Problem drinking in the older (junior/senior) college women was predicted to be found in the subjects who had not established an age-appropriate mature feminine sexual identity. This would be reflected in a masculine pattern of verbal fantasy, and by the lack of the flexible response

style that normally characterized this age; that is, a rigid response style was predicted to be related to problem drinking in the older college subgroup. Two measures of identity were used to test these hypotheses, a written projective measure and an observational measure.

C H A P T E R I I

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects for this study were 90 female undergraduate students from the University of Massachusetts (mean age 19.72 years, S.D. = 1.28 years, range = 18 to 25 years). Subjects were solicited through the use of sign-up sheets posted on the experiment advertisement board on the fourth floor of Tobin Hall, and through announcements made in undergraduate psychology courses. The study was described as an experiment on drinking patterns in women, involving the completion of a number of written measures and participation in an audiotaped role-play exercise. Potential subjects were told that they would be given two experimental credits in exchange for their participation. The expressed criteria for participation were that the potential subject could not be an abstainer, and that she must have consumed alcoholic beverages within the past six months. Thus, all participants in the study were drinkers.

Abstainers were excluded from the study for a number of reasons. The focus of this study was to compare problem

drinking with non-problem-drinking women; many of the factors that motivate abstinence are unrelated to the present study and are applicable to abstainers only. Some of these factors, such as medical disorders and strong religious beliefs, might have acted as suppressor variables and obscured the hypothesized relationship between identity development and problem drinking. For example, it is quite possible that some women who abstain from drinking because of medical problems might in fact be problem drinkers if they were allowed to drink. In those cases, then, the dependent measures might indicate the type of identity pattern predicted to be related to problem drinking, yet the drinking score would be zero. To avoid such potential complications, abstainers were excluded. Surveys show that only 7.9% of University of Massachusetts students classify themselves as non-drinkers (Student Affairs Research and Evaluation Office, 1984); therefore, it is likely that only a small proportion of potential subjects were excluded on the basis of these criteria.

Measures

Demographic data sheet. Subjects were asked to provide their age, year in school, major, type of residence, race, and religion. In addition, they were asked whether there was a history of alcoholism in their family and,

if so, the exact relationship to them of the alcoholic person or persons. Finally, the subjects indicated whether or not they presently had, or used to have, a drinking problem, and if so, whether or not they had ever sought treatment for it. A copy of the Demographic Data Sheet may be seen in Appendix A.

Problem drinking measure. Following Moos, Moos, and Kulik (1976), Wilsnack and Wilsnack (1978), and Konovsky and Wilsnack (1982), problem drinking was assessed by means of a Quantity/Frequency (Q/F) scale. Subjects were asked to report the absolute number of drinks they consume in an average week, with a drink's being defined as a glass of beer, a glass of wine, or a mixed drink. An open-ended format, rather than a categorical format, was used for this index to minimize the effect of experimental demand characteristics (e.g., a heavy-drinking woman might be reluctant to identify herself at the top level of a scale).

The Quantity/Frequency index was presented to the subjects as the first question of a 25-item drinking scale. With one exception, this set of items comprises the Park Problem Drinking Scale (Park, 1967), which was designed to assess drinking behaviors and attitudes toward drinking. The Park Problem Drinking Scale, which was used in the present study to provide additional descriptive information

about the drinking patterns of the subjects, consists of items assessing five independent aspects of drinking: problematic drinking, social drinking, fear about drinking, drinking for relief, and drinking to conform. Park (1967) developed this scale from data on 1,568 male college students, excluding abstainers and students who had never been drunk. The items on this scale have high face validity for students of both genders, and Park believes that the scale is applicable to female college students as well as to males.

For this study, an additional item (#19) was added to the scale, to assess the effect of drinking on sexual behavior. Park's (1967) original scale did not include any items on this topic. Perhaps this is due to the all-male population on which the original scale was based, since unwanted or later-regretted sexual behavior resulting from drinking seems to be a more relevant issue for women than for men in our society (Schultz, 1979). A copy of the Quantity/Frequency index and the modified Park Problem Drinking Scale are presented in Appendix B.

Projective sexual identity measure. A version of the Thematic Apperception Test (Murray, 1943) was used to measure unconscious gender identity. The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) is a projective test involving

the scoring of imaginative stories told in response to picture cards. May (1966, 1969) conducted a series of studies analyzing college students' responses to four picture cards, and found a consistent difference in male and female sexual identity as reflected in verbal fantasy patterns. Men's stories typically showed movement from a positive emotion or experience to a more negative emotion or experience (Enhancement to Deprivation), while women characteristically showed an opposite, Deprivation to Enhancement, pattern. May (1966) defines Deprivation as referring to "such things as physical tension or pain, injury, death, continued exertion, falling or losing control, growing old or weak, negative emotion (nervousness, fear, hate, etc.), negative press (being under compulsion, being trapped), self-sacrifice without any mention of gain or gratification, failure, and dissatisfaction." The criteria for Enhancement are "satisfaction of a physical need, physical excellence or accomplishment, rising (or cessation of fall), success, growth, positive emotions (happiness, love, excitement, etc.), positive anticipation, nurturant press, revenge, and insight or realization." May (1966) has developed a standardized scoring procedure, which he reports in a carefully detailed manual (for a complete description of each category, refer to Appendix C).

Scoring of the stories is concerned with both the

sequence, and the total number, of Deprivation (D) and Enhancement (E) units. The first step in scoring is to determine the Pivotal Incident (P.I.) of the story, defined as the central act or feeling in the story that mediates between the past and the future. This central act or feeling is not itself scored, but instead forms the point of reference for clarifying other story elements. Next, the remaining elements of the story are identified as discrete units and are classified as Deprivations or Enhancements, based on May's (1966) criteria. Elements of the story that are not Deprivations or Enhancements are not scored. Each D and E element in the story is then assigned a score of +1 or -1, depending on its position relative to the Pivotal Incident. The feminine pattern of Deprivation leading to Enhancement has been chosen by May to be the positive-scoring pattern. Thus, D units before the Pivotal Incident and E units after the Pivotal Incident each receive a score of +1. In contrast, E units before the Pivotal Incident and D units after the Pivotal Incident are each scored -1. Points are then summed across the story, yielding a single total score. Therefore, stories that move from Deprivation to Enhancement receive a positive D/E score, stories that move from Enhancement to Deprivation receive a negative D/E score, and stories with equal numbers of Deprivation and Enhancement units

before and after the Pivotal Incident result in a total score of zero.³

Because the scientific utility of projective measures has been questioned so often (Wiggins, 1973), more than the usual amount of reliability and validity evidence bearing on the utility of this particular projective measure, for tapping this particular intended construct, will be presented. Research on the Deprivation/Enhancement code for scoring the TAT has shown it to have good reliability. Reported interrater reliabilities in scoring the stories have ranged from .77 to .92, with populations of college students (May, 1969) and children (Cramer & Bryson, 1973; May, 1971). In the present study, interrater reliabilities were obtained for the three steps involved in scoring. First, two independent raters read each story and indicated their intuitive sense of the story's direction (i.e., from D to E or from E to D, or no movement). The

³This scoring system reflects not only the type of fantasy pattern (with positive scores reflecting movement from Deprivation to Enhancement and negative scores indicating movement from Enhancement to Deprivation, but fantasy intensity as well. While males typically obtain negative scores and females obtain positive scores, there are times when this standard pattern does not hold. For example, a picture card may strongly pull for a happy ending which would increase the E units after the P.I. and therefore increase the likelihood of obtaining a positive score. The scoring system is sensitive to such shifts; sex differences are reflected in women's obtaining significantly more positive scores than the men.

number of agreements on direction between the two raters was divided by the number of agreements plus disagreements, yielding an interrater agreement coefficient of .937.

In the next step, two independent raters again read through the stories and listed their first, second, and, if necessary, third choices for the Pivotal Incident. If either rater was uncertain about a particular story, she consulted one of three other independent, trained raters. Pivotal Incident agreement was defined as agreement between the two raters on their first and second choices of Pivotal Incident, in either order. That is, as long as the same two incidents were chosen by both raters as their top two choices, it was classified as an agreement. Third choices were not included. The interrater agreement for choice of Pivotal Incident, calculated by dividing the number of agreements by the number of agreements plus disagreements, was .892.

At this point in the scoring, the five trained raters discussed the stories upon which the raters had disagreed, in an attempt to come to a consensus about the choices of Pivotal Incident. Seven stories could not be agreed upon, and these were eliminated from the study. The final step in scoring the remaining 83 protocols involved actual numerical scoring of the stories, according to May's (1966; see Appendix C) procedures, by two independent raters.

The interrater reliability for the total scores, determined by dividing the number of agreements by the number of agreements plus disagreements, was .904.

In addition to having good reliability, D/E scores have been found to be valid predictors of a number of sexual identity-related characteristics in women. Malmaud (1973, cited in May, 1980) compared D/E scores with performance on the Gough Adjective Checklist (Gough, 1952) of a college student sample, and found that women's D/E scores were best predicted by their scores on Gough's "Nurturance" scale (defined as the wish to engage in behaviors that provide material or emotional benefits to others). Deprivation/Enhancement scores were also significantly related to scores on "Succorance" (the wish to solicit sympathy, affection, or emotional support from others), and "Endurance" (the tendency to persist). Women's D/E scores were negatively related to their scores on the needs for Achievement, Autonomy, and Exhibitionism. Thus, women who report themselves as possessing more of the typically feminine attributes and less of the stereotypically masculine attributes scored higher (i.e., more feminine) on the D/E scale.

The relationship of nurturance with D/E scores was also shown by Winter (1969). She analyzed TAT stories from young mothers who were nursing their babies and mothers

in the presence of a baby they had recently weaned. Winter (1969) found that nursing mothers received significantly higher D/E scores than did the comparison group, and suggested that this might be related to the nursing mothers' heightened feelings of nurturance.

Women who openly and actively reject the traditional feminine role have been shown to obtain D/E scores typically obtained by men. Saarni (1976) studied four groups of women: undergraduate psychology students, nursing trainees, skilled workers, and politically and organizationally active feminists. While this study had some methodological flaws, an important finding is that the D/E scores of the feminist group on the most reliable TAT card were slightly negative ($\bar{X} = -.48$, S.D. = 4.24), which is in the masculine direction. The students' and nursing trainees' scores were moderately positive, and the workers' scores were highly positive. The major point of interest is that this group of feminists was one of the only examples in the literature of women with solidly negative D/E scores. Women who openly express their dissatisfactions with the stereotypical feminine role and who possess qualities that have typically been considered "masculine" (e.g., independence, assertiveness, etc.) tend to show more negative-scoring, masculine fantasy patterns.

An interesting counterpart to Saarni's (1976) findings

is the finding that men who tend to reject certain aspects of the masculine role obtain positive, feminine scores on the D/E code. May (1975) found that a group of homosexual males requesting psychotherapy received solidly positive mean D/E scores--the first positive-scoring male group in the literature. These men received significantly more feminine scores than did either the group on young (mostly non-student) men tested by May (1969) in an earlier study, or than either of the two male "patient" groups (one group of recent-onset schizophrenics, one group with various diagnoses) in the same (May, 1975) study.

Scores on the D/E scoring system have also been found to correlate with field dependence, a perceptual and cognitive ability to make judgments regardless of perceptual context. Research has shown that women are more field dependent than men (Witkin, Dyk, Faterson, Goodenough, & Karp, 1962). May (1975) explored D/E patterns in a group of male and female residential-center psychotherapy subjects (mean age 23 years). After splitting the female subjects into those with higher D/E scores and those with lower D/E scores, May (1975) found a significant difference in field dependence scores: Women with higher D/E scores were significantly more field dependent than were women with lower D/E scores. This suggests that women with more masculine sexual identities (i.e., more masculine fantasy

patterns) also have more typically masculine cognitive styles, while women with more feminine fantasy patterns have more feminine cognitive styles.

A study by Rabinovitz (1976; cited in May, 1980) provides further evidence of the relationship between feminine and masculine fantasy patterns and typical female and male cognitive styles. Rabinovitz (1976) looked at expectations for success; past research has found men to typically overestimate their probabilities of success in a task, while women typically underestimate theirs. Undergraduate male and female subjects, engaged in a basically meaningless task, all were given the same "feedback" about their success on a trial run. Subjects indicated their expectations for success in the task. Rabinovitz (1976) found that the feminine D/E pattern was significantly associated with underestimating one's chances for success, regardless of the subject's gender. This pattern seems to make sense in terms of the movement in the fantasy patterns. Someone who underestimates her chance for success might only try simple tasks, or might engage in tasks feeling much worry and doubt, only to be pleasantly surprised at succeeding. This follows the feminine Deprivation to Enhancement pattern. On the other hand, someone who habitually overestimates his chances for success is likely to have high hopes followed by disappointment--

the masculine pattern of Enhancement leading to Deprivation. This study, then, supports the notion that differences in cognitive style are associated with differences in sexual identity, regardless of the actual gender of the person.

Gender-related character or personality disorder psychiatric diagnosis has also been found to be associated with D/E scores, in the ways that would be expected. May (1975) conducted a study in a private residential center for extensive psychotherapy, in which D/E data were collected from every willing patient who presented for routine testing. The subjects of interest here were 32 women (mean age 23 years) with a range of diagnoses (following the diagnostic criteria of Schafer, 1948). All subjects were highly intelligent and came from upper-middle to upper class socioeconomic backgrounds. May (1975) hypothesized that the women with more "hysterical" personality diagnoses would receive significantly higher D/E scores than would women with "obsessive-compulsive" diagnoses. This hypothesis was based on the link between "hysterical" traits and an exaggeration of the stereotypical female role: "emotionality, seductiveness, dependence, a disinclination for 'rational' thinking, and a combination of seeming helplessness with impressive interpersonal skills and impact" (May, 1975, p. 118). In contrast, the obsessive-compulsive's emphasis on power, self-control,

rationality, and competence reflects the extreme of the stereotypically masculine role (Shapiro, 1965).

May (1975) found that among the women patients, those with the "hysterical" personality diagnoses scored significantly more in the feminine direction on the D/E code than did those with obsessive-compulsive diagnoses. In fact, the "hysterical" women obtained extremely high scores, while the obsessive-compulsive women obtained scores in the negative, masculine range (mean D/E scores, +2.45, S.D. = 4.17 for "hysterical" group, and -1.07, S.D. = 2.4 for obsessive-compulsive group; $p < .025$). Thus, women who have been diagnosed as having an exaggeratedly feminine basic personality or character structure have extremely feminine D/E patterns, while women with more masculine character diagnoses show masculine D/E patterns.

Further support for this link between basic gender identity and D/E patterns comes from a separate analysis conducted on the data from the same study (May, 1975). In addition to participating in the TAT, subjects were asked to "draw a person," with the variable of interest being the gender of the figure drawn first. Because it has been a consistent finding in the literature that, at all ages, most men draw a male figure first and most women draw a female figure first, the gender of the first drawn figure seems to tap some aspect of basic gender identity.

May (1975) found a significant difference in the mean D/E scores between the women who drew a female figure first (mean D/E score = +2.54, S.D. = 3.88) and women who drew a male or totally ambiguous figure first (mean D/E score = -.71, S.D. = 2.65).

The construct validity of the Deprivation/Enhancement code as a measure of sexual identity is also supported by the finding that D/E scores are correlated with the use of particular defense mechanisms. Cramer and Carter (1978) looked at the relationship between D/E scores and patterns of typical male and female defense mechanisms, or characterological modes of coping with stress and conflict, in male and female undergraduates. The authors found that the "use of defenses is related to gender identity as measured by D/E" (Cramer & Carter, 1978, p. 72). Women who received high scores on the typically feminine defense of Reversal (which includes denial, negation, reaction formation, and repression) received significantly more feminine scores on the D/E measure than did women who received lower scores on Reversal. In contrast, women who obtained high scores on the typically male defense of Turning Against the Other (i.e., dealing with conflict by blaming or attacking others) obtained significantly lower (more masculine) D/E scores than did women with low scores on Turning Against the Other.

While D/E scores were significantly correlated in the predicted directions with defense mechanisms, scores on a measure of conscious masculinity and femininity were not. In the same study, Cramer and Carter's (1978) subjects completed the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Strong, 1966). The Masculinity-Femininity scale of this measure, which examines sex-role attitudes and interests, was used to assess subjects' conscious sex-role identities. No relationship was found between either the Strong Vocational Interest Blank scores and D/E scores, or between the Strong scores and defense mechanisms. Because defense mechanisms are considered to be rooted in one's basic personality and are considered to be largely unconscious, this finding suggests that D/E scores are tapping a deeper, more unconscious, and less superficial aspect of gender identity than is the attitudes and interests scale.

The results of Cramer and Carter's (1978) study suggest again that women who score in the feminine direction on the D/E scale handle conflicts and stresses in what is regarded as the characteristically feminine manner; that is, by tending more toward either denying them or by blaming themselves (Schultz, 1979). This inhibition and internalization of negative feelings, in their extreme, is characteristic of women with "hysterical" personalities and reflect an exaggerated version of the

stereotypical role (May, 1980; Shapiro, 1965). This lends support to May's (1975) finding that women diagnosed as having "hysterical" personalities tend to provide extremely feminine D/E scores. On the other hand, women who show more masculine fantasy patterns tend to react to and express conflicts, stress, and negative feelings (e.g., anger) in a more outwardly aggressive manner. This style of coping is characteristic of the stereotypical masculine role (Bem, 1974; Ruble, 1983).

Of special importance for the present study, the Deprivation/Enhancement scale has been found to be sensitive to certain developmental shifts in sexual identity. Several studies (Cramer, 1980; Cramer & Bryson, 1973; Cramer & Hogan, 1974) have found that sex differences in D/E scores do not exist in very young children (age 3 to 5 years), but do appear by about age 6 or 7. Longitudinal studies suggest that the primary determinant of the sex differences that do appear with age result from the girls' patterns moving away, or differentiating, from the boys' patterns, in the more feminine direction. Cramer and Bryson (1973) conclude, "boys and girls, at the time they are entering school, do not show the sex-related patterns of fantasy that have been found to differentiate adult men and women. However, by the age of about 9 years, sexual differentiation in fantasy

patterns is clearly evident. [Furthermore]...it is the female child who changes" (p. 133). Also, as predicted by developmental theories of sexual identity in late adolescence, gender differences in D/E scores were found to disappear in college freshmen, then reappear strongly in upperclasspersons (Cramer, 1980). This disappearance of sex differences corresponds to the stage of dedifferentiation proposed by Blos (1962), in which young women give up their earlier feminine identifications, and experiment by trying out various, and often masculine, identities. Cramer (1980) concludes that the results from her study, "showing a loss of differentiation in sexual identity during the late adolescent years that is most comparable to the lack of differentiation characteristic of the preschool years, fits well with Blos' description of regression to an undifferentiated stage, while the reemergence of a differentiated sexual identity in the older college students corresponds to his description of a second individuation and the development of a mature sexual identity" (p. 610).

Three picture cards, scored by the Deprivation/Enhancement scoring system, were used in the present study to assess gender identity. Most of the research using the D/E has used three cards, and May (personal communication, October, 1984) and McClelland (personal

communication, February, 1985) suggested that three cards are sufficient to measure the intended construct. The specific cards used in this study were suggested by May (personal communication, October, 1984), and have been used most often in previous research. The first picture card depicts a man and a woman in a trapeze act (the "trapeze picture"). The second depicts a young bullfighter in the ring (the "bullfighter picture"), and the third is of a man on a rope (the "rope picture"). The three pictures are presented in Appendix D.

Observational measure of identity. A second major aspect of identity, rigidity and flexibility in response style, was assessed by the College Women's Assertion Sample (CWAS; MacDonald, 1978). The CWAS is a fifty-two item verbal role-play measure of behavioral assertion. Each audiotaped item presents a brief description of an interpersonal situation, to which some response is warranted. Subjects listen to each situation, and are asked to imagine themselves in the situation and to respond verbally as if the events were actually happening. Six types of situations are represented on the CWAS. MacDonald (1975) describes these six situation types as: (1) encounters in which someone is placing an unwanted demand on the woman; (2) encounters in which the woman's

felt needs are not being met; (3) encounters in which the woman has been insulted; (4) encounters in which someone is asking the woman for an inconvenient favor; (5) encounters with individuals who have been inconsiderate to the woman in the past; and (6) encounters in which someone is being inconsiderate to the woman in the present. In addition to these six situation types, a seventh type is included which consists of situations which college women have judged as morally warranting subjugation of the woman's own needs and rights for the benefit of the other person. This situation type is referred to as Scale Nine. According to Grenier (1983, p. 9), Scale Nine "can provide evidence of faking, overestimating one's natural level of assertion, or failing to discriminate between situations where assertion is and is not appropriate." The fifty-two items of the CWAS, and a complete description of the situation types, are presented in Appendix E.

The CWAS was developed through a series of studies by MacDonald (1975, 1978), that included over 1,000 subjects. An original item pool was generated by asking college women to indicate situations they had encountered in which assertion was, or would have been, appropriate. From this original item pool, a reduced number of items were retained on the basis of a number of desirable test

item properties (e.g., realism, moderate difficulty level), which were established through unidimensional ratings. Next, multidimensional scaling procedures were used to identify clusters of distinct situation types, marked by their shared situational properties. This resulted in the six situation types described above. Response pools were then generated for each of the items, to identify response range and demonstrate response variability. Within each item's response pool, categories of topographically similar, and therefore presumably functionally equivalent, responses were isolated. These topographical categories represent the nine levels of behavioral assertion, ranging from Aggressive (characterized by a strong refusal given in an antagonistic manner), through decreasing levels of Assertion (characterized by decreasingly straightforward ways of getting one's needs met), to Submissive (characterized by some level of compliance with the other and subjugating one's own needs). A complete description of the topographical properties of the nine assertion levels are included in the CWAS manual (Appendix E). Finally, numerical scoring weights to assign to each response category within situation types were designated on the basis of unidimensional ratings. Thus, numerical scores are assigned on the basis of both a response's topography

and its situation type. The numerical scoring weights are also included in the manual (Appendix E).

The CWAS is presented entirely in an audiotaped format. The standardized audiotape begins with the following instructions:

This tape will present a series of situations to you for you to role-play. I will be describing social encounters that most college women either have experienced or can imagine experiencing. As each situation is described, try to imagine yourself in that situation or in a situation as close to it as you possibly can. Then, at the end of the description, give the reaction that seems most natural to you at the moment. Just let yourself react exactly as you would if the situation were actually happening to you while you hear it. If your reaction would be to say something, say the exact words you would say. If your reaction would be a movement of some sort, describe what that movement would be.

Following these instructions, an example is given. If the subject understands the procedure, the fifty-two items are then administered. The subjects' responses are audiotaped, and later coded according to MacDonald's criteria.⁴

Numerous studies support the reliability and validity of the CWAS. Good interrater reliability has consistently

⁴To allow for computer analysis of the CWAS data, missing or unscorable responses (due either to inaudible responses or subjects' misunderstanding the item content) were filled in with the subject's mean score for the situation type of the missing item (not the overall mean). Thus, the mean and variance of the subject's situation type score were not affected.

been demonstrated, ranging from .81 to .98 (Bruch, Heisler, & Conroy, 1981; MacDonald, 1975, 1978; Nix, Lohr, & Mosesso, 1983). Test-retest reliability coefficients have also been good (Kern & MacDonald, 1980). Interrater reliability in the present study was calculated on a random half ($N = 38$) of the CWAS protocols; each set of responses was scored by two independent raters. The senior experimenter then calculated the number of agreements on response scores divided by the number of agreements plus disagreements, yielding an interrater reliability coefficient of .94.

The validity of the CWAS has been demonstrated in a number of studies. Construct validity was shown by MacDonald (1978), who found significant correlations between CWAS scores and scores on two other measures of assertion, a behavioral measure (Rathus Assertiveness Schedule; Rathus, 1973; $r = .51$, $p < .001$) and a self-report measure (Conflict Resolution Inventory; McFall & Lillesand, 1971; $r = .53$, $p < .001$). CWAS scores were not, however, significantly correlated with either behavioral anxiety as determined by pulse rate or with self-reported anxiety as measured by the Anxiety Differential (Alexander & Husek, 1961). In addition, MacDonald and Tyson (1984) found CWAS scores to correlate significantly with the Aggression and Abasement scales

of Jackson's (1962) Personality Research Form, in the expected manner ($\underline{r} = +.34$ with Aggression, $\underline{p} < .01$; and $\underline{r} = -.31$ with Abasement, $\underline{p} < .01$). The finding by MacDonald and Tyson (1984) that CWAS scores did not significantly correlate with scores on Edwards' (1957) Social Desirability Scale suggests that the high validity of the CWAS is not confounded by social desirability factors.

Further validation of the CWAS was presented by Nix, Lohr, and Mosesso (1983). These researchers predicted that behavioral assertion as measured by the CWAS would be significantly correlated with masculine but not feminine sex-role characteristics in college women. This prediction was based both on sex-role theory (e.g., Bem, 1974), and on an earlier study by the authors which found that self-reported assertiveness in both male and female college students was positively correlated with masculinity, but unrelated to both femininity and gender. In the Nix, Lohr, and Mosesso (1983) study, sex-role characteristics were assessed by the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). The College Self-Expression Scale (Galassi, DeLo, Galassi, & Bastien, 1974) was used as a self-report measure of assertiveness, and the CWAS (MacDonald, 1978) provided the behavioral measure of assertion. As predicted, both assertion measures were positively correlated with self-reported masculinity (CWAS with Masculinity, $\underline{r} = +.37$,

$p < .05$; College Self-Expression Scale with Masculinity, $r = +.34$, $p < .05$); neither measure of assertion was significantly correlated with femininity. In addition, the finding of a significant correlation between the two assertion measures ($r = +.66$, $p < .05$) provided further support for the construct validity of the CWAS. This study supports the hypothesis that assertiveness is basically a characteristic of the masculine, not feminine, sex-role.

The findings of this study (Nix, Lohr, & Mosesso, 1983), while important in themselves, are of limited generalizability to the present study. While Nix et al. (1983) explored conscious, self-reported sex-role characteristics, the present study focused on unconscious sexual identity and membership in a particular stage of identity development, as assessed by a projective measure. And, as Cramer and Carter (1978) have shown, conscious and unconscious aspects of sexual identity are qualitatively different and are not necessarily correlated. Therefore, it was not expected that CWAS assertion scores would be positively correlated with masculine sexual identity scores as measured by the D/E scale.

More relevant for the present study were the studies conducted by Bruch, Heisler, and Conroy (1981), which explored the relationship between conceptual complexity

(CC), which is an aspect of cognitive style, referring to "the number and interrelatedness of rules or schema used for discriminating, encoding, and retrieving information about the social environment (Bruch et al., 1981, p. 377). This variable was considered relevant to assertion (i.e., to the CWAS) because assertion is an aspect of social behavior which involves interpersonal conflict resolution. The authors consider persons with high conceptual complexity to be individuals who "possess an information-processing style that should enhance conflict resolution because they (a) make finer discriminations or situational attributes and, thus, can view situations from multiple perspectives, (b) rely more on internally developed standards for problem solving, and (c) possess more integrative schema, and thereby increased tolerance for conflict" (pp. 377-378). This notion of conceptual complexity is notably similar to Perry's (1970) and Katz's (1975) descriptions of cognitive or response style flexibility, as opposed to rigidity, which is an important characteristic of identity development.

Bruch et al. (1981) reported findings from an earlier study in which college student subjects classified as high, moderate, or low in self-reported assertiveness had differed in their conceptual complexity: The higher

the level of conceptual complexity, the higher the level of self-reported assertiveness. In the 1981 study, Bruch et al. divided CWAS items according to level of interpersonal difficulty, where the "difficult" items involved dealing with demands of close friends, parents, or boyfriends who directly contradicted the woman's plans and needs. "Simple" items, on the other hand, were those involving dealing with a roommate or stranger whose behavior was causing the woman inconvenience, or situations in which someone asked the woman for a favor at the woman's own expense. The third item type, along with "difficult" and "simple", consisted of three of the four Scale Nine items, to which assertion was not warranted.

A number of important findings emerged from this study. As predicted, high CC subjects were significantly more assertive than low CC subjects in the more difficult interpersonal situations ($t(26)=2.11$, $p < .05$); there was no significant difference in CWAS scores on the simple situations between high and low CC subjects. In addition, high and low CC subjects did not significantly differ in their scores on the Scale Nine items; as expected, however, both groups did respond significantly more submissively on these items than on the items in which assertion was warranted. One important difference that did appear was that, on the Scale Nine items, high CC

subjects expressed significantly more statements that reflected consideration of the needs of the other person than did low CC subjects ($\chi^2(1) = 5.17, p < .05$). Finally, although the differences were not statistically significant, a greater number of high CC subjects were classified as androgynous (i.e. having both masculine and feminine characteristics) by the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), while the low CC women were more likely to be self-defined as solely feminine or undifferentiated.

Bruch et al. (1981) drew a number of conclusions from this study. "Differences in information-processing style (e.g. abstract vs. concrete) can moderate the effectiveness of subjects' role-play assertive behavior" (p. 383). Subjects with high conceptual complexity responded more assertively in complex social situations, and more appropriately and sensitively in situations where assertion was not warranted, than did subjects with low conceptual complexity. The authors claimed that "effective assertion in close relationships may be enhanced by the high CC individual's capacity to view situations from multiple perspectives and to rely on internal standards of appropriate action. Such cognitive properties imply that the individual can simultaneously weigh the effects of taking alternate courses of action and yet reach a solution that will maintain the importance of his or her

rights and needs" (p. 384). Again, the parallels between cognitive complexity and the developmental theorists' notion of response-style flexibility are striking. The findings from this study (Bruch et al., 1981) provide support for using the CWAS as a measure of cognitive style in the present study.

For the purposes of this study, the data of interest were the within-subjects situation-type variabilities on the CWAS. This score was calculated by computing the variance of the mean score of each situation type (I to VI, excluding Scale Nine) for each subject. This variance was designated the CWAS Variability Score. The CWAS Variability Score thus measures the degree to which the the subject varied in her response style to different types of rights-infringement interpersonal situations. High CWAS Variability Scores reflect more flexible, abstract, complex response styles, while low CWAS Variability Scores reflect more rigid, concrete, inflexible, absolutistic styles. Drawing on the work of the developmental theorists discussed earlier (e.g., Blos, 1967; Katz, 1975; Erikson, 1950), women in the dedifferentiation period of sexual identity development, who are characteristically cognitively rigid, were identified by their low CWAS Variability Scores, while women who had achieved more mature, stable, feminine sexual

identities were identified by their high CWAS Variability Scores (reflecting their characteristically more flexible, tolerant response styles).

Additional measures. Four additional measures were included in the study. Since the topic under investigation, problem drinking, is a behavior generally considered to be socially undesirable, The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) was included to provide a way of isolating variance in the criterion variable measure which might be most properly attributed to the social desirability response set. This scale is presented in Appendix F. The other three measures were all presented on a single page: subjects were asked to list ten adjectives that described how they felt after drinking a few drinks; to rate their view of drinking on four five-point bipolar scales, anchored by Good-Bad, Feminine-Masculine, Active-Passive, and Weak-Strong; and to indicate whether they engaged in or experienced, and/or were concerned about, any of ten different problem areas (eating too much, eating too little, smoking cigarettes, using drugs, sleeping too much, sleeping too little, feeling shy around men, feeling shy around women, feeling sad or blue, and feeling anxious). A copy of the additional measures are presented in Appendix G. With

the exception of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), these additional data were gathered for exploratory purposes, and the results from analyses on them will not be presented here.

Procedure

Subjects signed up for a study on drinking patterns in women. Sign-up sheets were posted on the experiment advertisement board on the fourth floor of Tobin Hall. Subjects listed their name, phone number, and best times to be called at home. One of the five female experimenters contacted each subject, and set up a two-hour appointment. Each subject was tested individually by one of the female experimenters. The testing sessions took place in a small room in the Department of Psychology. The room was furnished with two chairs and two tables, positioned against adjacent walls. Subjects sat at one table facing the back wall. The experimenter sat beside the subject while she explained the study and during the administration of the CWAS; the experimenter moved to the other table while the subject completed the written measures.

At the start of each testing session, the experimenter greeted the subject and briefly described the study as an experiment on drinking patterns in college women. Subjects were told that they would complete a number of

written measures, and would participate in a series of role-play-type situations in which their responses would be audiotaped. The experimenter then explained that complete instructions would be included with each measure. If the subject had any general questions, the experimenter answered them; however, specific questions about the procedure or about the meaning of the measures were deferred until the end of the session. All the subjects were asked to read and sign an Informed Consent form (Appendix H) before the actual testing began.

The first measure, given to all subjects, was the Thematic Apperception Test. The procedure was the one used in previous research (e.g., May, 1966). Subjects were given a stack of papers, and were told to go through them in order. Instructions on the cover sheet read:

You are going to be shown three pictures. Please look at each picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page, then write out a short imaginative story that the picture suggests to you. Be sure to say something about who the people are and what has led up to the situation in the picture; what is happening in the picture and what the people are thinking and feeling; and what will happen next, or what the outcome will be. Guidelines will be presented on each of the pages where you will be writing your stories, to remind you to include each of these elements. Please remember that each of these points are guides for your thinking; you do not have to answer each one specifically. That is, your story should be continuous, and not just a set of answers to these questions.

There are no "right" or "wrong" stories. In fact, any kind of story is quite all right. This is just a chance to imagine and write a story on

your own. Try to make the stories interesting and dramatic. Show that you have an understanding of people and can make up stories about human situations. Don't just describe the pictures, but write stories about them.

Now, turn the page, and look at the picture briefly. Then, on the next page, write out the story suggested to you by the picture. You don't have to spend more than five minutes on each story. When you have finished, go on to the next picture. PLEASE WRITE LEGIBLY! (Print, if necessary). Thank you.

Subjects were presented with the Trapeze picture, the Bullfighter picture, and the Rope picture, in that order. A caption at the bottom of each picture read: "Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page, and write out the story it suggests." A page for writing the stories was included after each picture. The heading of the story-writing pages read: "Work rapidly. You don't have to spend more than five minutes on this story. The questions below are guidelines." To facilitate scoring, the guideline questions were equally spaced down the page, to allow subjects to separate the past, present, and future aspects of the stories. At the bottom of each page, instructions were given to go on to the next picture.

When the subjects completed the TAT, the odd-numbered subjects were asked to fill out the Demographic Data sheet, the Problem Drinking Scale, and the Social Desirability Scale, in random order. The CWAS was then administered.

The even-numbered subjects first participated in the CWAS, then completed the written measures. Finally, all subjects were given the single sheet containing the adjective list, the drinking ratings, and the problem checklist. The experimenter informed the subject that complete instructions were included on each questionnaire. The subjects were assured that their responses would remain completely anonymous, and were encouraged to answer all of the questions as accurately and honestly as possible.

The administration of the CWAS followed standard procedures (MacDonald, 1978). The subject was comfortably seated, and the experimenter talked informally with the subject for a few minutes to create an atmosphere of acceptance and cooperation. Experimenters were instructed to limit the topics of these informal chats to school-related issues (e.g., classes and majors). The experimenter then explained that the specific test instructions were included right on the tape, responded to any general questions the subject had, and told the subject that she (the experimenter) would not be talking to her during the test, but would be operating the equipment and recording the subject's responses. The CWAS instructions were then played, followed by the example situation. If the subject responded appropriately on the example (i.e., if she responded as if she was actually

in the situation), the test itself was begun. If the subject did not respond according to the instructions (e.g., if she said, "I would say..."), the experimenter reviewed the instructions again with the subject; then the actual test was begun. Two three-minute breaks were taken, after items 17 and 34, to allow the subject to rest, and to provide the experimenter with an opportunity to recreate the air of acceptance and cooperation.

When the subjects completed the entire experiment, they were invited to ask any questions they had. The experimenters were instructed not to divulge the specific purposes of the study, to avoid possible contamination of future subjects' responses. If subjects did have specific questions, they were given the name of the senior experimenter, and were encouraged to contact her. In addition, if the subject expressed any concern about her drinking behavior, or any other personal problems, she was encouraged to contact someone at Student Mental Health, and given the phone number of that office. After any questions were answered, the subjects were thanked for their participation, and given their two experimental credits and a Debriefing Form (Appendix I).

C H A P T E R I I I

RESULTS

Seventy-five subjects of the original ninety were included for analysis. There were three major criteria for exclusion: unscorable TAT stories, unscorable CWAS protocols, and missing questionnaires. There was a total of eleven subjects whose TAT stories could not be scored; seven of these had no identifiable Pivotal Incident, and an additional four did not have scorable Deprivation or Enhancement units on either side of the Pivotal Incident. Equipment failure on the CWAS was responsible for the exclusion of two subjects. Three subjects were excluded for having more than two unscorable CWAS responses within any situation type (unscorable responses were due to subjects' misunderstanding the item or not being able to think of any response). Four subjects did not fill out all of the written materials. Many of the subjects who were not included in the analyses were excluded on the basis of more than one criteria; for example, all of the subjects who did not fill out one or more of the written measures also were excluded for unscorable TAT stories and CWAS protocols. A total of

fifteen subjects were excluded. The mean age of the remaining seventy-five subjects was 19.72 years (S.D. = 1.28 years, Range = 18 to 25 years).

To allow for comparison of subjects on either side of the expected developmental shift, subjects were first divided into two groups--one consisting of freshman and sophomore students, and one consisting of junior and senior students. The freshman/sophomore group ($\underline{n} = 49$), who theoretically should have been in the developmental stage of dedifferentiation or identity "moratorium" at the time of testing, were designated as the Younger Group. The upperclasswomen ($\underline{n} = 26$), who theoretically should have established a stable, mature feminine identity at the time of testing, were designated as the Older Group. The mean age of the Younger Group was 19.0 years (S.D. = .667 years, Range = 18 to 20 years). The mean age of the Older Group was 21.08 years (S.D. = 1.01 years, Range = 20 to 25 years). As would be expected, the mean ages of these two groups was significantly different ($\underline{t}(37) = -9.37$, $\underline{p} < .0001$). Demographic characteristics for the total sample, and for each age-development subgroup, are presented in Table 1.

Problem drinking measure

Analysis of the Quantity/Frequency Index, which was used as the primary measure of problem drinking, showed

TABLE 1
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE
AND AGE-DEVELOPMENTAL SUBGROUPS

	Total Sample (<u>N</u> =75)	Younger Group (<u>n</u> =49)	Older Group (<u>n</u> =26)
<u>Age (years)</u>			
Mean	19.72	19.00	21.08
S.D.	1.28	0.67	1.01
Range	18-25	18-20	20-25
<u>Class (% (N))</u>			
Freshman	26.7 (20)	40.8 (20)	-----
Sophomore.....	38.6 (29)	59.2 (20)	-----
Junior	20.0 (15)	-----	57.5 (15)
Senior	14.7 (11)	-----	42.3 (11)
<u>Race (% (N))</u>			
Caucasian.....	96.0 (72)	95.9 (47)	96.1 (25)
Black	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Asian	2.7 (2)	2.0 (1)	3.9 (1)
Hispanic	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Other	1.3 (1)	2.0 (1)	0.0 (0)

TABLE 1--Continued

	Total Sample (<u>N</u> =75)	Younger Group (<u>n</u> =49)	Older Group (<u>n</u> =26)
<u>Religion</u> (% (N))			
Jewish	24.0 (18)	24.5 (12)	23.1 (6)
Catholic	42.7 (32)	42.9 (21)	42.3 (11)
Protestant.....	9.3 (7)	10.2 (5)	7.7 (2)
Other	6.7 (5)	10.2 (5)	0.0 (0)
None	17.3 (13)	12.2 (6)	26.9 (7)
<u>Residence</u> (% (N))			
Dormitory	77.3 (58)	98.0 (48)	38.5 (10)
Off-Campus.....	18.7 (14)	2.0 (1)	50.0 (13)
Sorority	4.0 (3)	0.0 (0)	11.5 (3)

that the mean number of drinks consumed in an average week for the total sample ($N = 75$) was 7.08 drinks/week (S.D. = 7.06 drinks/week, Range = 1 to 35 drinks/week); the mean number of drinks consumed per week for the Younger Group was 8.22 drinks/week (S.D. = 8.10 drinks/week, Range = 1 to 35 drinks/week); the mean number of drinks consumed per week for the Older Group was 4.92 drinks/week (S.D. = 3.96, Range = 2 to 15 drinks/week). These findings were consistent with the results of the Student Affairs Research and Evaluation Office (1984) study of drinking patterns among University of Massachusetts students.

A t -test was computed to determine whether the mean number of drinks consumed per week by the Younger and Older Groups were significantly different. Results indicated that the Younger Group did drink significantly more drinks per week than did the Older Group ($t(72) = 2.4053$, $p < .02$).

Analyses of variance were calculated to determine whether there were significant differences in the mean number of drinks consumed per week by subjects of different races, religions, and places of residence. No significant differences were found. A Pearson product-moment correlation between the Quantity/Frequency Index and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale showed no

significant relationship between these two variables ($r = -.14$), suggesting that the Quantity/Frequency Index is a true measure of the subjects' drinking; in fact, social desirability was not correlated with any other measure in the study. In addition, the significant correlation between the Quantity/Frequency scale and the scores on the problematic drinking dimension of the Park Problem Drinking Scale ($r = .544$, $p < .0001$) provides further validation of the criterion variable as a measure of problem drinking. For this reason, subjects were classified in Problem Drinking and Non-Problem Drinking categories based on their scores on this measure. Problem Drinking was defined as consuming more than the mean number of drinks per week of one's cohort. This definition was used in previous studies of problem drinking (e.g., Konovsky & Wilsnack, 1982; Moos, Moos, & Kulik, 1976). Problem drinkers in the Younger Group were thus defined as those who consumed more than 8.22 drinks/week, and problem drinkers in the Older Group were defined as those who drank more than 4.92 drinks/week. These classification criteria resulted in 32.6% ($n = 16$) of the women in the Younger Group and 46% ($n = 12$) of women in the Older Group being designated as problem drinkers. These women will be referred to as Problem Drinker (young) and Problem Drinker (old), respectively. Women drinking fewer than

the mean number of drinks/week of their cohort will be referred to as Non-Problem Drinker (young) and Non-Problem Drinker (old).

Sexual identity measures

Deprivation/Enhancement Code. To determine the internal consistency of the three TAT cards used in this study, Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated between the mean D/E score for each TAT card and the averaged mean D/E score for the other two cards. All three correlations were statistically significant (Trapeze with (Bullfighter + Rope)/2, $r = .248$, $p < .05$; Bullfighter with (Trapeze + Rope)/2, $r = .367$, $p < .05$; Rope with (Trapeze + Bullfighter)/2, $r = .472$, $p < .05$). Because adequate internal consistency was assessed, the subjects' scores on the three TAT cards were averaged, yielding a single D/E score for each subject.

The mean D/E score among all seventy-five subjects was +2.15 (S.D. = 2.96, Range = -9.67 to +6.0). The mean D/E score for the Younger Group was +1.60 (S.D. = 2.28, Range = -9.67 to +6.0). For the Older Group, the mean D/E score was +1.62 (S.D. = 2.12, Range = -10.0 to +5.33).

To test the hypothesis that problem drinking women would be more likely to deviate from their developmental-stage-appropriate sexual identity, t -tests were conducted to determine whether differences existed in the D/E scores

of Problem Drinking and Non-Problem Drinking women within the two age-developmental subgroups. Results from these analyses are presented in Table 2.

Results from the t -tests indicate that Problem Drinker (young) women obtained significantly more positive (feminine) D/E scores than did Non-Problem Drinker (young) women, as expected ($t(47) = -2.29, p < .05$). Among the Older Group, Problem Drinker (old) women obtained significantly more negative (masculine) D/E scores than did the Non-Problem Drinker (old) women ($t(16) = 2.59, p < .02$). These findings confirmed the hypotheses: Problem Drinker (young) women were significantly less likely to show the stage-appropriate masculine sexual identity (a characteristic of dedifferentiation) than were Non-Problem Drinker (young) women, while Problem Drinker (old) subjects were significantly less likely to show the stage-appropriate feminine sexual identity than were the Non-Problem Drinker (old) women.

College Women's Assertion

Sample: CWAS Variability Scores. As described above, CWAS Variability Scores provided a measure of response-style flexibility/rigidity, and were constructed by computing the variance of the six situation type mean scores for each subject. The mean CWAS Variability Score of the Younger Group was 4.36 (S.D. = 3.19); the mean

TABLE 2

DIFFERENCES ON DEPRIVATION/ENHANCEMENT SCORES BETWEEN
NON-PROBLEM- AND PROBLEM-DRINKERS WITHIN
AGE-DEVELOPMENTAL SUBGROUPS

Deprivation/Enhancement Scores					
Subgroup	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	S.D.	d.f.	<u>t</u>
<u>Younger</u>					
Nonproblem Drinkers	33	1.10	2.31		
				47	-2.29*
Problem Drinkers	16	2.63	1.90		
<u>Older</u>					
Nonproblem Drinkers	14	2.55	1.29		
				16	+2.59**
Problem Drinkers	12	0.53	2.42		

* $\underline{p} < .05$ ** $\underline{p} < .02$

CWAS Variability Score for the Older Group was 4.27 (S.D. = 2.70). T-tests were conducted to determine whether differences existed between the CWAS Variability Scores of the Problem Drinkers and Non-Problem Drinkers, within each age-developmental subgroup, to test the hypothesis that problem drinking women would be more likely to deviate from their stage-appropriate cognitive response style than would non-problem drinkers. Results from the t-tests are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 shows that, as predicted, Problem Drinker (young) women obtained significantly higher CWAS Variability Scores than did Non-Problem Drinker (young) women ($t(47) = -2.96, p < .005$). Also predicted was the finding that Problem Drinker (old) women obtained significantly lower CWAS Variability Scores than did Non-Problem Drinker (old) women ($t(24) = +2.29, p < .05$). Thus, the results suggest that problem drinking younger women are less likely to show the stage-appropriate response style rigidity than are non-problem drinking younger women; in addition, problem drinking older women are less likely to show the flexible response style characteristic of this stage than are non-problem drinking women in the Older Group.

TABLE 3
DIFFERENCES ON CWAS VARIABILITY SCORES BETWEEN
NON-PROBLEM- AND PROBLEM-DRINKERS WITHIN
AGE-DEVELOPMENTAL SUBGROUPS

Subgroup	CWAS Variability Scores				
	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	S.D.	d.f.	<u>t</u>
<u>Younger</u>					
Nonproblem Drinkers	33	3.49	2.52		
				47	-2.96**
Problem Drinkers	16	6.15	3.72		
<u>Older</u>					
Nonproblem Drinkers	14	5.30	2.67		
				24	+2.29*
Problem Drinkers	12	3.06	2.28		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .005$

Park Problem Drinking Scale:
Description of drinking patterns.

The five dimensions of the Park Problem Drinking Scale were scored to provide additional information on the drinking patterns of the subjects. Scoring followed Park's (1967) procedures. The five dimensions (Problem, Social, Relief, Fear, and Conformity), and the items included in each, are presented in Table 4. The Younger Group's and the Older Group's scores on the five Park drinking dimensions are presented in Table 5.

In order to better understand the particular patterns of problem drinking within each age-developmental group, a series of t-tests were computed to look for significant differences between the problem drinkers and non-problem drinkers on four of the five drinking dimensions.⁵ As can be seen from the results of these analyses, which are presented in Table 6, Problem Drinker (young) women and Problem Drinker (old) women drink for different reasons.

The t-tests computed within the Younger Group indicate that Problem Drinker (young) subjects significantly

⁵The Problem Dimension was excluded from this analysis, since the Quantity/Frequency index (upon which classification into Problem Drinking and Non-Problem Drinking categories is based) is part of the item content of that dimension. Therefore, t-test results would not be valid descriptors for these purposes.

TABLE 4
 DIMENSIONS OF THE PARK PROBLEM DRINKING SCALE

Factor	Item Number	Item Content
I		
Problem Dimension	1a	Quantity/Frequency Index (number of drinks per week)
	12a-j	Social Complications Scale
	13	weekend drinking spree
	14	blackouts (memory loss)
	15	drinking before or instead of breakfast
	17	gotten drunk alone
	18	drinking led to aggressive or destructive behavior
	19	drinking led to unwanted or later-regretted sexual experience

II

Social Dimension	2	drinking to get along better on dates
	4	drinking to be cheerful
	8	drinking in order not to be shy
	11	drinking to get high

TABLE 4--Continued

Factor	Item Number	Item Content
	20	drinking before a party
	21	liking to be one or two drinks ahead of others
III		
Relief Dimension	3	drinking to relieve fatigue or tension
	5	drinking to relieve physical discomfort
	10	drinking to help forget disappointments
IV		
Fear Dimension	22	fearing long-range consequences of drinking
	23	fearing dependence on alcohol
	24	seeking advice about drinking
V		
Conformity Dimension	6	drinking to comply with custom
	21	NOT liking to be one or two drinks ahead of others

TABLE 5
YOUNGER AND OLDER GROUPS' SCORES ON THE
FIVE DRINKING DIMENSIONS

Dimension	Younger Group	Older Group
<u>Problem</u>		
Mean	4.53	5.07
S.D.	2.17	2.10
Range	1-9	1-9
<u>Social</u>		
Mean	4.39	3.73
S.D.	2.07	2.43
Range	0-10	1-9
<u>Relief</u>		
Mean	1.49	1.62
S.D.	1.12	1.58
Range	0-5	0-5

TABLE 5--Continued

Dimension	Younger Group	Older Group
<u>Fear</u>		
Mean	0.61	0.96
S.D.	1.02	1.07
Range	0-3	0-3
<u>Conformity</u>		
Mean	1.31	1.61
S.D.	0.65	0.57
Range	0-3	1-3

TABLE 6

DIFFERENCES ON THE DRINKING DIMENSIONS BETWEEN NON-PROBLEM- AND PROBLEM-DRINKERS WITHIN AGE-DEVELOPMENTAL SUBGROUPS

Drinking Dimension	SUBGROUPS				
	Younger		t^a	Older	
	Nonproblem Drinkers	Problem Drinkers		Nonproblem Drinkers	Problem Drinkers
<u>Social</u>					
Mean.....	3.94	5.31	-2.27*	2.71	4.94
S.D.....	1.97	2.02		1.77	2.61
					t^b
					-
<u>Relief</u>					
Mean.....	1.42	1.63	-0.58	0.86	2.50
S.D.....	0.94	1.45		0.95	1.73
					-3.06**

TABLE 6--Continued

Drinking Dimension	SUBGROUPS					t^b
	Younger		t^a	Older		
	Nonproblem Drinkers	Problem Drinkers		Nonproblem Drinkers	Problem Drinkers	
<u>Fear</u>						
Mean.....	0.58	0.69	-0.36	0.29	1.75	-4.69****
S.D.....	1.00	1.08		0.61	0.97	
<u>Conformity</u>						
Mean.....	1.27	1.38	-0.51	1.64	1.58	+0.26
S.D.....	0.63	0.72		0.63	0.51	

^ad.f. = 47 ^bd.f. = 24

* $\bar{p} < .05$ ** $\bar{p} < .01$ *** $\bar{p} < .0001$

differed from Non-Problem Drinker (young) subjects only on the Social Dimension; Problem Drinker (young) women received significantly higher scores ($t(47) = -2.27$, $p < .05$). Among the Older Group, however, Problem Drinker (old) subjects scored significantly higher than did Non-Problem Drinker (old) subjects on three of the four dimensions: the Relief Dimension ($t(24) = -3.06$, $p < .01$), the Fear Dimension ($t(24) = -4.69$, $p < .0001$), and the Social Dimension ($t(24) = -2.55$, $p < .02$).

C H A P T E R I V

DISCUSSION

In this study, it was hypothesized that, if the developmental progression of sexual identity described by theorists is actually the normal and appropriate path for college women, then women who follow this progression would be less likely to have drinking problems than women who do not follow this path. Or, conversely, non-problem drinkers were predicted to be more likely to follow the normal identity-developmental pattern than problem drinkers. The results confirmed these hypotheses.

Among the younger group of freshmen and sophomores, non-problem drinkers obtained significantly lower, more "masculine" scores on the D/E code than did problem drinkers. This finding suggests that the non-problem drinkers had entered into the dedifferentiation stage of identity development appropriate for their age group. The problem drinkers in this younger group showed significantly more "feminine" (i.e., positive-scoring) D/E patterns, suggesting that they had not entered the dedifferentiation stage.

The relationship between problem drinking and D/E

scores among the older group of women also followed the predicted pattern. Non-problem drinking junior and seniors received significantly higher, more feminine D/E scores than did problem drinking women in the older group, indicating that the non-problem drinking women had achieved the stable, mature, feminine sexual identity that is appropriate for their age group. On the other hand, problem drinking among this older group was associated with not having established this appropriate stable identity.

Similarly, identity status as measured by CWAS Variability Scores was found to be related to problem drinking in the expected manner. For the younger group, developmental-stage-appropriate response style rigidity, as indexed by lower CWAS Variability Scores, was significantly more characteristic of the non-problem drinking younger women than of the problem drinking younger women. Among the older group, the significantly higher CWAS Variability Scores of the non-problem drinking women, as compared to the problem drinkers, indicates that non-problem drinking women of this group were more likely to have achieved the flexible and tolerant response style appropriate for this age-developmental group. Again, the results here show that problem drinking is associated with a deviation from the "normal" and appropriate

identity-developmental path.

Developmental theorists have not only posited the existence of a developmental shift in sexual identity in college women, but have stressed the importance and salience of these identity issues in a woman's life (Erikson, 1968; Giovacchini, 1979; Blos, 1962). This study provides empirical support for both of these assertions. The two measures of identity, one projective and one observational, suggest that there is a developmental shift in identity development during the college years, from a cognitively rigid dedifferentiation stage to a cognitively flexible mature feminine identity stage, in non-problem drinking college women. The salience of this developmental shift is demonstrated in two ways. First, the finding that problem drinking is associated with deviation from the normative developmental identity pattern in both age-developmental subgroups suggests that identity issues are quite powerful at this age. Also, the lack of any significant correlations between demographic characteristics and problem drinking suggests that the observed relationships between developmental stage and problem drinking exist in women of different races, religions, and living situations. Given that the demographic factors have been found to be related to adult female alcoholism in past research (Schukit & Morrissey,

1976; Gomberg, 1979), it may be that developmental issues are the major task for all college women and override any demographic differences in this age group. This possibility should be explored further in future research, especially the relationship between race and drinking; the lack of variability of race in the present study (96.0% of the subjects were Caucasian) does not permit valid conclusions to be drawn on this topic.

The identity patterns associated with problem drinking and non-problem drinking that emerged in this study require some further clarification. Beginning with the younger group of women, it was found that lower (i.e., more masculine) D/E scores were obtained by the non-problem drinking women, indicating that these women had entered the dedifferentiation stage normative for their age-developmental group. However, the higher, more feminine D/E scores of the problem drinking women in this group raises an important question: Is it possible that these feminine D/E scores are reflecting the kind of stable, mature feminine sexual identity expected for the older group? Given the results presented earlier from Waterman et al.'s (1974) study, this possibility does not seem likely; Waterman et al. (1974) has shown that what might appear to be "mature" identities (i.e., "identity achievers") in younger college students are not the same

type of stable identities found in older students, but are likely to break down into a dedifferentiation (Waterman et al.'s "moratorium") phase, and only later re-emerge as truly stable identities. Therefore, the feminine D/E scores of the younger problem drinking women in the present study were more likely a reflection of their not having entered the dedifferentiation phase, and still maintaining their childhood identifications.

The finding that problem drinkers in the younger group failed to show the stage-appropriate rigid style also demands further clarification. The problem drinkers in this group received significantly higher CWAS Variability Scores than did the non-problem drinking younger women. This finding is best understood in terms of Katz's (1975) theory: Because these problem drinking women were not experiencing the ambiguities and uncertainties that characterize the dedifferentiation period, they did not need to develop the absolutistic, rigid cognitive style that the non-problem drinking younger women showed. On the other hand, Perry's (1970) notion of cognitive style as something that develops, from rigid to flexible, during the course of college makes less sense here; according to Perry's theory, the higher CWAS Variability Scores of the problem drinking younger women would suggest that they had already developed a more mature

cognitive style.

There are two possible explanations for the lack of rigidity in the young problem drinking group. It may be that, because these women were holding fast to early parental identifications, they were finding themselves unable to cope with the new demands and experiences that faced them in college. With the response styles they had developed in their younger years not effectively working, these women might consistently waver and change in their responses to new situations, thus accounting for their high CWAS Variability Scores. It would be expected, then, that the increased variability in these problem drinking younger women was more a reflection of "wild guesses" at how to respond, while the high variability seen in non-problem drinking older women was a reflection of situation-appropriate flexibility. Further research is needed to address this issue. The Bruch, Heisler, and Conroy (1981) method of looking at simple versus difficult items, and of assessing the appropriateness of subjects' responses with respect to the content of the particular item, might prove useful in this endeavor.

A second alternative explanation for the high femininity/high variability profiles of the younger problem drinkers is that they have in fact achieved mature identity statuses, albeit before most of their peers. Perhaps

this feeling of being out of synchrony with most of their friends and colleagues produces anxiety that motivates problem drinking. However, this explanation is less likely than the others, for two reasons. First, it contradicts the findings of Waterman et al. (1974) that students usually cannot maintain the identities they formed prior to college, but that they generally go through the active questioning and alternative-seeking in college, partly in reaction to the new and diverse experiences they encounter. Second, it makes less sense intuitively that women who have developed a mature and stable feminine identity and the associated flexible cognitive style, which are considered to be psychologically healthy and appropriate, would be more likely to be problem drinkers than women who have not achieved these stable identities.

Focusing now on the older group of problem drinking women, the deviation from the normal, appropriate developmental patterns takes the form of masculine sexual identity (i.e., low D/E scores) and rigid response styles (i.e., low CWAS Variability Scores). One possibility is that these women entered the dedifferentiation period at the appropriate time (in their freshman/sophomore years), but somehow got "stuck" and were unable to re-differentiate and develop stable feminine identities. If this were true, these women would probably not have

been problem drinkers early in college. It would be interesting to pursue this possibility in future, longitudinal research.

A second possibility is that these women were "late bloomers" whose development was slower than the norm, and who had only recently entered the dedifferentiation stage. Earlier in college, then, these women would have been likely to show the feminine D/E scores which are associated with problem drinking during those years. If this result was the case, it is possible that problem drinking in these older women with "masculine" sexual identities is simply a continuation of a problem drinking pattern developed in the first years of college, and is no longer related to sexual identity. However, a second alternative is that the deviation from the normative developmental progression continues to be associated with problem drinking; college juniors and seniors who lack the appropriate stable sexual identities and who are only now facing dedifferentiation issues might feel out of step with their more mature peers, and thus might drink in response to this sense of being different or "immature."

Similarly, older problem drinkers' lack of a flexible response style (i.e., their low CWAS Variability Scores) may be accounted for in a number of ways. If, as described above, these women were "stuck" in the

dedifferentiation stage, their rigid cognitive styles would most reasonably be construed, in accord with Katz (1975), as an anxiety-reducing attempt to create some stability or certainty in their lives, in the face of the anxiety-producing nature of dedifferentiation. The same construal of rigidity would hold in the case of the "late bloomers" alternative; that is, for those women who were merely slower than the norm in entering the dedifferentiation period. Further research, particularly longitudinal research, is needed, in which both identity development and drinking patterns are measured over the course of the subjects' college years, to explore the relationship between these two variables in more detail.

While the results from this study discussed so far provide evidence for a relationship between deviation from the appropriate pattern of identity development and problem drinking at successive age-developmental stages in college women, the nature of, or reasons for, this relationship are not yet clear. Do the problem drinkers in the younger and older groups show different patterns of drinking, or drink for different reasons? The descriptive results from the Park Problem Drinking Scale, combined with a more subjective sense of the experience of college, provide some information regarding these questions. In the early years of college, primary concerns

for young women are making friends, dating, developing relationships, going to parties; freshman and sophomore years are dominated by social issues. Drinking, too, is primarily a social phenomenon in the early years of college; so many of the social functions of these years revolve around drinking (e.g., "keg parties"). Given the salience of social issues during the first two years of college, it seems logical that a major effect of being out of synchrony developmentally with one's peers would be an increase in social fears: Why am I different from my friends? Will other people like me? Will boys like me and ask me out for dates? In fact, the only dimension on the Park Problem Drinking Scale that significantly differentiated problem drinking from non-problem drinking freshman and sophomore women was the Social Dimension. This suggests that women not following the normal developmental path of their peers were consuming significantly more alcoholic beverages because of socially-motivated concerns, such as drinking to get along better on dates, drinking in order not to be shy, and drinking before going to parties. It is likely, then, that the failure to enter the age-appropriate identity-developmental stage of dedifferentiation leads to increased social anxiety, which in turn leads to socially-motivated problem drinking. These women seem to be drinking heavily

primarily to better fit in socially. Of course, because the methods used in this study do not permit causal assumptions to be made, further research is needed to determine the nature of these relationships.

In the final two years of college, women are faced with a number of concerns other than social ones. These are the years in which students are expected to have chosen a major, to be making or have made some future goals and plans, to have developed good interpersonal relationships with friends, and perhaps even to have found a potential life partner. The types of decisions that have to be made in one's junior and senior years feel more important, more serious, more binding than those that face the freshman and sophomore. For most upperclasswomen, the real world is approaching. In addition, the social life of the upperclasswoman has typically calmed down considerably; there are fewer big parties and social gatherings. Without the constant opportunities and peer pressure for social drinking, drinking generally becomes more a matter of personal choice.

Women in their final years of college who have achieved the expected stage of development for this age, who have established a stable, mature feminine sexual identity and developed flexibility and tolerance in their responses to different situations, will be more likely

to be able to effectively deal with the demands and choices of the adult world with which they are faced. In contrast, women who have not yet reached this appropriate stage of development would be likely to be confronted with a number of potentially serious concerns. In addition to the strain of not fitting in socially with their peers, their lack of a stable sexual identity may hinder their attempts to establish lasting, close friendships and intimate relationships. Furthermore, a lack of a clear sense of oneself, coupled with a rigid and absolutistic response style, undoubtedly makes the tasks of important decision-making and choice-making more difficult and confusing. As Bruch et al. (1981) suggest, women who lack flexibility in their response styles likely have more difficulty in conflict resolution situations, including interpersonal conflict, because of their limited ability to view situations from multiple perspectives and their lower tolerance for conflict. This might well prevent a woman from being able to make decisions about her short- and long-term goals and plans, and to negotiate important situations. Thus, it seems likely that the ramifications of deviating from normal identity development would be more serious towards the end of college, because the demands placed on women of this age are themselves more serious. It is possible that women in this position

would begin drinking more heavily and in more problematic was to cope with, or escape from, the anxiety inherent in such a situation. This is supported by the results from the Park Problem Drinking Scale; problem drinking junior and senior women scored significantly higher on the Social, Relief, and Fear Dimensions than did non-problem drinking upperclasswomen. Not only was the problem drinking women's drinking motivated by social anxiety, then, but these women were also drinking more for relief from tension, discomforts, stresses, and disappointments. In addition, the problem drinking older group was significantly more concerned about their drinking; they feared drinking's long-range consequences and worried about becoming dependent on alcohol. According to Jellinek (1952), these are signs of pre-alcoholic drinking.

The results from this study have several implications for the treatment of drinking problems in college women. First, there is evidence that women in the early years of college should be treated separately from upperclasswomen, as the types of issues that are related to problem drinking are, in a sense, opposite in these two groups. While both are related to a developmental deviation, the problem drinking pattern in the younger group is characterized by feminine sexual identity/lack of response-style rigidity, while that of the older group is masculine

sexual identity/lack of response-style flexibility. Treating these women together, or with a similar focus, does not take into account that the younger and older groups of women most appropriately fall into two separate developmental stages, and therefore are dealing with different issues.

Treatment of alcohol problems of women in their first years of college should include some form of psychotherapy or counseling that will address issues of separating from one's parents and home, relinquishing childhood identifications that no longer serve an adaptive purpose, and developing a more exploratory and questioning attitude about oneself and others. In addition to working on this more intrapsychic level, counselors and therapists working with this younger group should specifically attend to the socially-motivated aspects of drinking. If feelings of not fitting in with one's peers are in fact causing students to drink in order to get along better with others, younger problem drinkers might be helped to develop more adaptive ways of fitting in and making friends. A group treatment would be a good modality to achieve this.

Treatment for upperclass problem drinking women should focus on somewhat different issues than those relevant for the younger group. Psychotherapy or counseling with these older problem drinkers should address issues of

identity integration and development, and work toward helping women to choose among the various alternatives and form a more stable and defined sense of themselves as women and as adults. Again, in addition to addressing the more intrapsychic identity issues, certain other content areas should be focused on, perhaps in a therapy group. These areas include problem solving and conflict resolution skills training, in an attempt to help the women become more flexible in their response styles and more able to handle the pressures and decisions involved in transitioning out of college. Long- and short-term goal planning would also be helpful in this respect. As with the younger group, attention must also be given to the socially-motivated aspects of drinking, with a focus on teaching women social skills more adaptive than drinking. It is likely that, if these women feel better able to deal with their futures and their social situations and in general felt better about themselves as women, the need to drink for relief of emotional stresses would be decreased. Finally, because the older problem drinkers expressed some concern and fear that they would become addicted to alcohol, and that alcohol might have some serious long-range consequences for them, treatment involving some specific drinking-behavior management skills might be warranted with this group.

For both age groups, the underlying aim of treatment is the same: Problem drinking college women need help in discovering the reasons why they have been unable to proceed along the normative path of identity development, in dealing with these issues as a way to get back on the appropriate developmental track, and in learning more adaptive ways to deal with the social and intrapsychic anxiety that arises in reaction to their current identity statuses. It is of great importance that these issues be addressed as early as possible, before problem drinking patterns become ingrained and lead to a more addictive alcoholism syndrome.

On a more general level, the results of this study have implications for the understanding and treatment of women of all ages. While most researchers in the field have looked for the theory of drinking problems in women, or the specific relationship between sexual identity and problem drinking in women, this study provides evidence that problem drinking women of different age-developmental groups are not the same. They do not drink for the same reasons, and the stage-appropriate sexual identity characteristics that may relate to drinking are different for women of different ages. Thus, researchers and professionals in the field must attend to the particular developmental issues that are relevant to women at

different stages of their lives when attempting to understand and treat women who present with problem drinking.

APPENDIX A

Demographic Data Sheet

1. Age: _____
2. Year in School: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior
3. Major: _____
4. Type of Residence: Dormitory Off-Campus Sorority
Other (please explain): _____
5. Race: _____
6. Religion: _____
7. Is there a history of alcholism in your family? YES NO
8. If you answered YES to Question 7, please give the specific relation (e.g., mother, father, grandmother or grandfather, aunt, uncle, female (male) cousin, etc.) of alcoholic person(s) to you: _____
9. Do you now have, or have you ever had, a drinking problem? (Check one): NO _____
NOW HAVE _____
USED TO HAVE _____
10. If you answered that you now have or used to have a drinking problem, did you ever seek treatment for the problem? YES NO
If so, from whom did you seek treatment? _____

APPENDIX B

Problem Drinking Scale

The following questions ask you about different aspects of your drinking behavior, such as how much you drink, when you drink, etc. Please try to answer all the questions as accurately as possible.

1a. If a glass of beer, a glass of wine, and a mixed drink are each counted as a single drink, approximately how many drinks do you have in an average week? _____

1b. Approximately how many times per week do you drink?

_____ 5 or more

_____ 3 or 4

_____ 0 to 2

1c. When do you usually drink alcoholic beverages?

_____ Almost exclusively on weekends

_____ More on weekends than during the week

_____ About equally on weekends and during the week

_____ More during the week than on weekends

_____ Almost exclusively during the week

Please indicate the importance of each of the following in your use of alcoholic beverages. For each, check whether the factor is of considerable importance, some importance, or no importance.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>CONSIDERABLE</u>	<u>SOME</u>	<u>NONE</u>
2. Drinking to get along better on dates.	_____	_____	_____
3. Drinking to relieve fatigue or tension.	_____	_____	_____
4. Drinking to be cheerful.	_____	_____	_____

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>CONSIDERABLE</u>	<u>SOME</u>	<u>NONE</u>
5. Drinking to relieve illness or physical discomfort.	_____	_____	_____
6. Drinking to comply with custom.	_____	_____	_____
7. Drinking because you enjoy the taste.	_____	_____	_____
8. Drinking in order not to be shy.	_____	_____	_____
9. Drinking for a sense of well-being.	_____	_____	_____
10. Drinking as an aid to forgetting disappointments.	_____	_____	_____
11. Drinking to get high.	_____	_____	_____

Have you ever experienced any of the following as a result of your drinking? Check YES or NO.

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
12a. Had preparation for your classes interfered with?	_____	_____
12b. Had preparation for examinations interfered with?	_____	_____
12c. Lost a friend of the same sex?	_____	_____
12d. Lost a friend of the opposite sex?	_____	_____
12e. Had a friendship damaged?	_____	_____

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
12f. Missed appointments?	_____	_____
12g. Lost a job?	_____	_____
12h. Had an accident or injury?	_____	_____
12i. Been arrested?	_____	_____
12j. Had disciplinary action taken by college authorities?	_____	_____

For #13-19, please indicate the approximate number of times in your life you have experienced the situation listed. If never, put a zero (0).

13. Gone on a weekend drinking spree.	_____
14. Had a "blackout" where you were unable to remember events that happened either while you were drinking or afterwards.	_____
15. Had one or more drinks before or instead of breakfast.	_____
16. Had one or more drinks alone.	_____
17. Gotten drunk alone.	_____
18. Had your drinking lead to aggressive, destructive, or malicious behavior.	_____
19. Had your drinking lead to an unwanted or a later-regretted sexual experience.	_____

Please answer YES or NO to the following questions.

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
20. Have you ever drunk before going to a party if you weren't sure of getting anything to drink or enough to drink?	_____	_____

- | | <u>YES</u> | <u>NO</u> |
|--|------------|-----------|
| 21. Do you ever like to be one or two drinks ahead without others knowing it? | _____ | _____ |
| 22. Have you ever feared the long-range consequences of your drinking? | _____ | _____ |
| 23. Have you ever felt that you might become dependent on or addicted to the use of alcoholic beverages? | _____ | _____ |
| 24. Have you ever sought the advice of others about your drinking? | _____ | _____ |
| 25. Have you ever "gone on the wagon" (tried to stop drinking) as a result of (check all that apply): | | |
| ____ a. your own decision | | |
| ____ b. your parents' advice | | |
| ____ c. your doctor's advice | | |
| ____ d. your steady date's advice | | |
| ____ e. your friend's advice | | |
| ____ f. a religious leader's advice | | |
| ____ g. participation in sports | | |
| ____ h. high school rules | | |
| ____ i. college rules | | |
| ____ j. never | | |

APPENDIX C

Scoring System for Deprivation/Enhancement Fantasy Patterns (May, 1975)

This scoring system was developed in order to distinguish certain patterns of emotional and physical movement described within a brief story or fantasy production. ...The first step in the pattern scoring is to establish an anchor point that determines what is "before" and what is "after." This is called the "Pivotal Incident" (P.I.). It is the dramatic turning point in the story, the central act or feeling which mediates between what went before and the ultimate outcome, the fulcrum or hinge around which the story turns. The Pivotal Incident can be a literal fall, a mistake, a high point of desire or wishing for something, a state of tension just before what is going to happen happens, a point of decision, an intense feeling or some critical action that determines what is to come, or an interlude between past and future.... If there is a change of tense in the story from past to future, the Pivotal Incident is usually located somewhere in that neighborhood. Phrases or sentences involving the words "climax," "peak," or "is going to" are often likely choices. It is a rare story

that does not offer two or three possible Pivotal Incidents, and the decision must be made in terms of one's feeling for the trajectory of the story. If the outcome of the story involved a strong wish either being fulfilled or disappointed, then the statement of that wish in the story would be a logical Pivotal Incident. If there are two closely linked, parallel elements, both of which would be acceptable Pivotal Incidents in the above terms, and one is an action incident while the other is a feeling or thought, the action incident should be preferred. An emotion or thought needs to be strong and clearly related to the following action or outcome in order to be acceptable as a Pivotal Incident (the only exception to this rule is if taking the action incident as a P.I. then makes the story unscorable. See below for criteria about whether a story is scorable). The Pivotal Incident, which is itself not scored, can be a phrase or a sentence or even two sentences. The extent is determined by the consistency of meaning. If there is a discontinuity or shift of meaning, phrases can be split at such natural connecting points as "and," "and will," "but," and "until." Phrases which involve more than one dramatic happening and a rather definite outcome, such as "falls to the ground and dies," are usually split, with the outcome being scored as a unit (see below). Clauses beginning with "if" (e.g.,

"if they are adept,") are not acceptable as Pivotal Incidents except in the most dire straits.

There are three overall categories that stories fall into: unscorable stories, doubtful stories, and stories that are simply scored. The unscorable category should be avoided whenever possible. The emphasis is on making the stories scorable, but there is always a certain percentage (five to fifteen per cent in past trials) that defies scoring. These are stories which lack any action or outcome, incomplete stories where the author has just given up, or stories which do not have scorable units on both sides of the Pivotal Incident (see below for definition of scorable units). Stories do not have to have a neat chronology or a "serious" tone in order to be scored, and one should always give the story the benefit of the doubt in this regard. Even if an outcome is given conditionally ("maybe they will succeed"), it is scored unless it is one of a number of contradictory and evenly-weighted alternatives.

The "doubtful" category is simply a convenience in scoring and reliability. It identifies those stories for which the scorer has some real doubt about the proper scoring and feels that there are serious and dubious issues involved. Ordinarily, these stories are later conferred on by more than one scorer in order to arrive at the best

score. But each individual scorer must first arrive at his own best possible score, since how many of these doubtful stories can be conferred upon depends on their proportion in the total group. If there are a large number of them, it is often useful to distinguish between several different degrees of doubt over the proper score.

As an example of the kind of thing that might lead to marking a story doubtful, it is sometimes necessary to rearrange the time sequence of a story and treat some part of it as if it came before the Pivotal Incident when on paper it comes afterwards. This rarely happens with a written story (particularly when there are short guideline questions going from past through present to future), and when the stories are told by fairly well put-together subjects....

Once the Pivotal Incident has been located, the story is then scored for all the units (words, phrases) that fit the categories below. The important scoring distinction is between Deprivation and Enhancement. Deprivation and Enhancement units (referred to below as D scores and E scores) are scored throughout the story, with no limit on the number of times a given category can be scored for one story. (As was mentioned above, units within the Pivotal Incident are not scored.)

Deprivation

1. Physical Tension. Hunger, intense sexual desire, or other physiological or biological needs.
2. General Physical Discomfort, Poverty, Professional or Vocational Obscurity. Illness, exhaustion or fatigue, "just starting out," "young bullfighter," "newcomer," "losing their property," in the context of poverty.
3. Physical Harm or Injury. People being killed, shot, injured, disfigured; someone dying; concern with, or mention of, any of the former.
4. Physical Exertion or Striving. "Running endlessly for hours," "working hard," "training," "long hours of practice," "worked since they were children," "practicing a difficult act," "rehearsing to perfect the act," "trying to lead a good and hard-working life," "trying to show his courage and skill," "difficult battle"; but not "doing their act" or just "practicing" unless the context clearly denotes difficulty or long duration.
5. Falling. Falling, slipping, losing control in the course of a trapeze act, "going down" (except when deliberately and under control). Concern with or awareness of these things can also be scored, although something like "afraid of falling" is better scored

under Category 8. "Without a net" would be scored as awareness of the danger of falling (but "falls in a net" would get one D and one E score). "Thinking about dropping her" would not be scored since its from the point of view of the dropper rather than the dropped. The phrase "fell and killed himself" would be given two D scores. A phrase such as "she has to trust him or she'll fall" would also be scored for awareness of the danger of falling. Something like "they are thinking they won't fall" is marginal and I would be inclined not to score it--see the discussion of denial and negation below. "Jumping," "jumped off," and "leaping" are scored when a stated or clearly connoted risk, a launching of oneself into space, is involved (but "she jumped at the right time" or "she jumped into his arms" would recieve E scores). "Falling in love" is not in the falling category.

6. Physical Decline or Defect. Growing weak, being "unable to," running out of ambition or skill; growing old (unless it implies something good, such as increased knowledge or comfort); being a "cripple," "ugly."
7. Failure. Falling short of a goal, losing one's job; "can't get along with people," "crazy," "prostitute," "they just got drunk all the time," "they were poor";

dull and routine conditions or outcomes such as "it's over and they go home."

8. Negative Feelings. Doubt, nervousness, dislike, hate, anger unless it is righteous or enjoyed, discord, fear, "bluffing," feelings of rejection, loneliness, alienation, unhappiness, despair, jealousy, envy, feeling bad about one's self, apathy or boredom; expressions of bad feelings, such as screaming, crying, complaining and moaning are also scored.
9. Unpleasant Pressures. Being under orders, external compulsion, an obsession that sounds or feels alien to the person, to "have to" when there are overtures of its being against the person's wishes; command performances, "practicing for an audition," "first public performance," "fierce competition" (just having "an audience" is too weak for a score unless it's an expectant audience); being blamed, reprimanded, scolded, criticized, ridiculed, punished; rejection, having one's desire directly denied; being threatened or chased; repeating the same activity over and over again when the context is one of external necessity and some negative feeling on the part of the person involved.
10. Tension, Dissatisfaction, Generalized Desire. To desire, yearn, wish, "need" when it means desire;

"hope" when it means wishing and a tension rather than Category 7 under Enhancement; to have an urge, to seek, "he would like to be able to do it very well," to want to become great, to have a driving aspiration; extreme mental effort such as "concentration" in the context of danger or of striving to do well; being in a situation that demands or requires that one trust someone else (see Category 5 under Enhancement); people in the process of learning something that requires courage and skill; needing to be reassured. The word "want" is sometimes not enough in itself to be scored, depending on the strength of its context; "he wants to be a trapeze artist" could be scored, especially if it is elaborated on or if the person finds his progress blocked.

11. Ignorance of Something Important. "He fails to realize," "never to consider the morality of his actions." This should be scored in the context of the specific morality given in the story.
12. Self-Sacrifice. To give something important of one's self with no internal or external reward stated.

Enhancement

1. Physical Satisfaction. "Have physical contact," "sleep together" when a desire for this has been stated earlier; to sleep when one is tired, or eat

when hungry; to be "well-rested."

2. Ability, Physical Excellence or Accomplishment.

"Skill and daring," "powerful precision," "perfect form," "bulging sinews," "beautiful bodies," "handsome," "perfect harmony," "magnificent performance"; someone is described as an experienced or accomplished performer, "well-practiced," "finds learning easy," "mastered the trade"; the description of tricks or feats ("a double back flip").

3. Height, Rising, Flying, Stopping a Fall. Flying, soaring, floating, "flying trapeze," "highwire act"; being caught or saved from a fall; "luckily he fell in the net" would be scored as long as there had been a previous separate score for the element of having fallen; images such as "came up to the big time," "worked his way up," "greater heights," but not "from such heights as they can only go down" or references to routine ladder climbing ("go up to the next platform" is a marginal instance that I would lean toward scoring, depending on the context). Allusions to heights such as "the crowd below watches the artist above" are scored, so long as the height reference is not a fearful one.

"Swinging" is not scored, but "freely swinging through the air" would be scored. "High trapeze" would be

scored, but not "midair" or just "aerial act." "Hold" or "holding" would be scored as stopping a fall unless it's described as a continuing condition and routine part of the act. Names that include flying ("The Flying Flanigans") are not scored.

4. Growth. To grow up, grow strong, grow fat (unless it's in the context of ugly or weak); "having grown up with the circus," "bigger and better."
5. Positive Feeling. Happiness, love, satisfaction, contentment; "cheerfully," "intimate relation," "close friends" (but not simply "friends"), "union," "join each other," "mutual concern," establishment of significant communication, "remained together quite a while"; a positive attitude toward one's self, feeling "free" or expansive, excitement, "fascination" when the context is positive, pleasant memories; expressions of positive feeling, such as laughing, are also scored. References to "trust" bring up complicated issues with the trapeze picture. The basic question is whether trust is something that exists, in which case it would be scored under this category, or whether it is required in the sense of Deprivation Category number 10; phrases such as "they must trust each other" are ambiguous and cannot be scored unless the context indicates whether the author

means that these people are forced to trust each other, which would be Deprivation Category number 10, or whether he means that they obviously do trust each other because they're doing what they're doing, which would be scored here. Instances such as "they derive immense pleasure from the trust that is demanded" would be scored only for the positive pleasure element.

6. Positive Shifts in Tension Level. "Relieved," "her tension will become less and less," "adjust," "get used to," "he's lived with fear so long it doesn't bother him"; to forget about a negative experience, to relax or recuperate.
7. Positive Anticipation. To be looking forward to something expectantly, "readiness," to be confident, to have faith in someone; "hope to" is scorable if there is a positive context, an indication that the hopeful outcome is expected or taken for granted rather than just desired or wished for; dreams of grandeur, the imagining of glory or fame are scored here rather than in Deprivation Category 10, since it is a matter of imagining the goal, of mentally leaping over obstacles in an unreal way; the description of someone as "pompous" implies some of these qualities and would be scored here; also something like "the crowd is watching for extraordinary feats" if the context is

one of confident expectation.

8. Receiving Help, Affection, or Concern. To have someone concerned for you, to have someone "grateful," to receive a wanted gift or help, to be loved or mourned, to have someone wish you well or be concerned with your well-being; someone trying to save someone else; "finally got their chance," "asked to join the circus"; to stick together in the face of trouble, to work together as a team in a positive context that is more than just "in the past they have worked together"; being trained by someone to do something well ("she trained him to do the whole act").
9. Success. "Successful," to achieve one's goal or desire, to win, to be "very good," "was accepted," "wealthy"; only facts are scored here and not desires or wishes. This can include "completion of the act" if the sense is of success or if the outcome was in doubt. Names such as "The Great Zambini" are also scored.
10. Publicity, Attention, Fame. "Big publicity," "received many awards," to receive applause or attention, "a huge crowd has come to see him," "he has a large following," to be respected, to be famous, "parading about," "star billing," "the biggest act in the circus," "playing in Madison Square Garden"

(but not just "performing in front of a crowd").

11. Revenge, Retaliation, Successful Resistance. Avenging one's self, overcoming obstacles, escaping, courage in the face of danger, carrying on some desired activity in the face of adversity or previous trouble, successfully holding out for what you want.
12. Insight, Realization. Achieving an awareness, recognizing a previously unknown fact or situation even if it is a negative one, understanding, "one day they realized they hadn't been doing what they really wanted to do with their lives." The "awareness of danger" only is not enough for a score in this category.

The examples given under each category above are by no means exhaustive. Every group of stories will provide many specific phrases that are not listed above but that fit the meanings of the categories.

The examples above are guidelines rather than absolute definitions.

Since the scoring system does not go mechanically word by word, questions come up about how many scorable units there are within a given phrase or sentence.

In order to have more than one unit scored there must be independent elements with clearly separate meanings.

For instance, "They are poor, tired, and sad" would

receive three scores since these three words refer to clearly different things; "she has been shunned or humiliated by her lover" would receive only one score because "shunned" and "humiliated" are rather close in meaning and because it is not clearly stated that they both happened but rather that one or the other did. "He is very sure of himself that he will, as always, be able to maintain their balance" would receive two scores, but "he feels sure that he can keep their balance" would receive only one. "Fantasies of love, warmth, and tenderness" is a more difficult instance where I would incline toward one score since I think it is only a global, fuzzy feeling of comfort being referred to, but it would also be possible to argue for two scores--three separate scores would be too many.

A similar issue comes up with repetition in a story. Restatement of a given unit or phrase is not scored when it appears to be simply narrative or dramatic repetition (involving exactly the same words and usually occurring in the same paragraph or section of the story). This rule holds even if the repeated phrase is applied to another character. For instance, "she's tired too" would not be scored in a story where "he's tired" has already been scored. Exceptions

to this rule against scoring repetitions are direct statements about flying and about falling (in stories about the trapeze card) and direct references to death (excluding, however, the death of the bull in the stories about the bullfighter picture).

There are some references for which one must be careful not to read in positive feelings. For instance, such things as "physical contact," "married," and "affair" are only scored if there was a previously stated desire for this outcome or if happiness or pleasure is implied (thus the phrase "a love affair" would be scored because of the connotations of love). If, however, the happiness or pleasure is openly stated in the same phrase, then the happiness or pleasure is scored as a unit and the rest ignored. In general, such constructions as "they take great pleasure from..." would be scored only for the pleasure unless what they're taking pleasure from is strong or striking in its own right (e.g., they take great pleasure from being the best trapeze artists in the world, or "they were very happy about the news of their lifetime contract," both of which would receive two scores, whereas "he's glad that his grip is firm" would receive one score).

Sometimes the author of a story will go out of his way to deny the possibility of something bad happening. One wants to be able to score strong instances of this because the fact of having to bring it up and deny it shows that such a thought has at least occurred to the story-teller. But this scoring of denial or negation as a deprivation must be reserved for very strong instances. Negating references to falling, blood, and death would be scored ("they will not die," "there will be no blood on the floor of the circus ring"). One does not split units here the way one would in positive instances, and thus the phrase "they don't fall and die" would receive only one score. "There will be no tragedies" and "I don't see a sad ending" are both weaker examples but ones I would lean toward scoring. "They are thinking they won't fall" is too weak to be scored.

When there is an introjection of the author's first-person comments into a third-person story, such as "They lived happily ever after. I can't believe it all turned out so well," the first-person phrase should be scored for the emotion connoted, and the change in point of view ignored.

The numerical scoring of units is done on the basis of their position before and after the Pivotal

Incident, and is arranged such that a story moving from Deprivation to Enhancement receives a positive score and a story moving from Enhancement to Deprivation receives a negative score. A Deprivation unit before the P.I. is scored +1, an Enhancement unit before the P.I. is scored -1. A Deprivation unit after the P.I. is scored -1, and an Enhancement unit after the P.I. is scored +1. The unit scores are then summed up to get a score for the whole story. The mean of any group of stories is not necessarily zero, this being dependent on the particular group of people and the picture used. No distinction is made between relative and absolute shifts; that is, a story with twice as much Deprivation before the P.I. as it has after it could receive a score equivalent to a story having a small amount of Deprivation before the P.I. and a small amount of Enhancement after it.

Occasionally a story will have two independent themes, involving several heroes and a different outcome for each, or two very different possible outcomes. Such a case may have two separate Pivotal Incidents or only one, depending on the degree of divergence of the themes. These kinds of productions can be treated as two separate stories, with a score

for each and the final score for the subject being the average of these two separate scores. Double theme stories should be rare and a story should not be scored this way unless there are two very clearly divergent story lines. A story that is scored as a double theme should always be put in the doubtful category. Only one of the themes need have scorable units after the Pivotal Incident in order for the whole story to be scored in this fashion.

Key Steps in Learning the D/E Scoring System--
Additional Suggestions and Rules

It is a helpful procedure in scoring a story to follow these helpful sequential steps:

- 1) Read the story straight through without scoring anything.
- 2) Decide whether the overall movement or feel of the story is up, down, or just stationary.
- 3) Read the story through again and select a Pivotal Incident; enclose it in pencilled brackets.
- 4) Score the story's D and E units then, in pencil.
- 5) Go back through the story and find another, different phrase that could serve for a Pivotal Incident, preferably one that keeps the story out of the doubtful category and one having scorable units on both sides of the P.I. Indicate it differently.

- 6) Score the story again with the other P.I.
- 7) If another phrase seems also a reasonable candidate for the P.I. (there will rarely be more than three in a story), note it and score the story with it also.
- 8) Select that P.I. which best reflects in its total score the movement of the story.

Trying to find in each story at least one alternative P.I. is a way to look at a story again freshly and to double check one's scoring.

To locate a Pivotal Incident, these four rules can be convenient; a particular story, though, may not follow all four:

A) Movement of the story rule. If the story's progression is from a difficult situation to a success, for instance, then a P.I. resulting in a total score of -5 or even -1 would not be acceptable. Some other turning point phrase should be selected.

B) As a result rule. Very often it happens that immediately after the Pivotal Incident one could insert into the story the test phrase "therefore" or "as a result" and find that the rest of the story follows reasonably from that phrase.

C) Action rule. Given two Pivotal Incidents in a story, one of them describing a feeling, the other describing an action, the active P.I. should be preferred provided

that the two P.I.'s are about equally weighted choices. But when a story has just one good pivot point and it involves a feeling, there is no need to ransack the story for a more active P.I.

D) Doubtful Category rule. If a possible P.I. makes the story doubtful, select another P.I. phrase so long as it keeps the story sensible and reflects the story's movement.

....The scorer should be able to defend each score; that is, able to specify which of the twelve D or E categories the scored unit falls into.

APPENDIX D

You are going to be shown three pictures. Please look at each picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page, then write out a short imaginative story that the picture suggests to you. Be sure to say something about who the people are and what has led up to the situation in the picture; what is happening in the picture and what the people are thinking and feeling; and what will happen next, or what the outcome will be. Guidelines will be presented on each of the pages where you will be writing your stories, to remind you to include each of these elements. Please remember that each of these points are guides for your thinking; you do not have to answer each one specifically. That is, your story should be continuous, and not just a set of answers to these questions.

There are no "right" or "wrong" stories. In fact, any kind of story is quite all right. This is just a chance to imagine and write a story on your own. Try to make the stories interesting and dramatic. Show that you have an understanding of people and can make up stories about human situations. Don't just describe the pictures, but write stories about them.

Now, turn the page, and look at the picture briefly. Then, on the next page, write out the story suggested to

you by the picture. You don't have to spend more than five minutes on each story. When you have finished, go on to the next picture.

PLEASE WRITE LEGIBLY! (Print if necessary). Thank you.



Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds),
turn the page, and write out the story it suggests.



Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page, and write out the story it suggests.



Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds),
turn the page, and write out the story it suggests.

Subject No. _____

Work rapidly. You don't have to spend any more than 5 minutes on this story. The questions below are guidelines.

1. Who are the people? What has led up to the situation in the picture?

2. What is happening now? What are they feeling and thinking?

3. What happens next; what's the outcome?

(When you've finished the story, go on to the next picture.)

APPENDIX E

College Women's Assertion Sample

General Testing Considerations

The administration of the College Women's Assertion Sample (CWAS) should conform carefully to the procedures described in this manual. Throughout the several investigations of the device, conditions were held close to constant; changes in those conditions would sacrifice standardization and, consequently, prohibit inter-investigatory comparisons.

Results obtained with most psychological tests are more meaningful if the testee has willingly participated in the testing procedure. Such testee involvement is of special importance with instruments employing a role-playing format. Consequently, the test administrator should insure both the physical and, insofar as possible, the psychological comfort of each testee during the testing procedure. Testing should be conducted in a room affording maximum privacy. The testee should be seated comfortably. Before testing begins, the test administrator should talk informally with the testee for a few moments about non-test matters, being careful to create an air of cooperation and acceptance. Shortly thereafter, the test administrator should inquire directly about the testee's comfort, note

that specific instructions about taking the test are taped and will be played momentarily, ask for any general questions the testee may have, and inform the testee that during test administration, the administrator will not be talking with the testee, but will be involved with operating the equipment and recording the testee's responses.

Two pauses lasting roughly three minutes each should be taken after the seventeenth and thirty-fourth items. These pauses serve a dual function. They allow the testee a break from attending to and processing highly complex stimuli, and they provide the test administrator with a few moments to re-establish an air of co-operation between him or herself and the testee.

CWAS Administration Procedure

Begin testing by starting the stimulus tape. The first portion of the tape presents the following instructions which should be played without interruption to the point indicated:

This tape will present a series of situations to you for you to role-play. I will be describing social encounters that most college women either have experienced or can imagine experiencing. As each situation is described, try to imagine yourself in that situation or in a situation as close to it as you possibly can. Then, at the end of the description, give the reaction that seems most natural to you at the moment. Just let yourself react exactly as you would if the situation were actually happening to you while you hear it. If your reaction would be

to say something, say the exact words you would say. If your reaction would be a movement of some sort, describe what that movement would be.

Let's look at an example. Suppose the situation is: "You are walking into your professor's office to talk with her about your last paper. After she gestures for you to sit down, she looks at you and says, 'Your last paper was very, very good'." And suppose your natural reaction is to say "Thank you." Then you would say the words "Thank you" at the end of the description.

Now let's do that same example just as you will be doing the test situations. "You are walking into your professor's office to talk with her about your last paper. After she gestures for you to sit down, she looks at you and says, "Your last paper was very, very good'."

Stop the tape here and wait for the testee to respond.

Do not establish eye contact. If the testee says "Thank you" or makes any response appropriate for the illustrated situation, say:

Fine. That's exactly the way we'll be doing the test situations. Do you have any questions? (If the testee asks a procedural question, respond by reading the appropriate portion of the introductory taped instructions printed above. If the testee asks a non-procedural question, say I can't answer that question until we're through testing, but we'll be sure to talk about it then, okay?

If the testee does not respond with "Thank you" or with any response appropriate for the illustrated situation, say:

When I stop the tape, that's the signal for you to let yourself react naturally to the described situation. How do you think you would react to that situation that was just described if it were happening to you right now? (Let testee respond.) OK, let's try the example again, and this time, give that reaction as soon as I stop the tape. Rewind tape to start of example and replay. When the testee

responds as instructed, say, "Fine. That's exactly the way we'll be doing the test situations. Do you have any questions?" (If the testee asks procedural questions, respond by reading the appropriate portion of the introductory taped instructions printed above. If the testee asks any non-procedural questions, say "I can't answer that question until we're through testing, but we'll be sure to talk about it then, okay?").

Now say:

Altogether this will take about forty minutes. We'll take a short break after we're about a third of the way through and again when we're about two-thirds through. Are you ready?

Begin the stimulus tape. Stop the tape at the end of each situational description, and restart the tape as soon as possible after the testee has completed each response. Be sure to discuss any non-procedural questions the testee had after completing the final item.

1. You have to do a group project for one of your classes; it's due in a week. Right now you're talking with the two other members of your group after your class, trying to set up a meeting time. The guy suggests Saturday morning, which is fine with you, but the girl (who has already missed two of your meetings) says, "I don't know whether I can make it then or not...it all depends."
2. Your teacher has just handed you your last test back, one you studied really hard for. As you open it up, you see that you got an "A", and you hear the guy next to you mutter, "I wonder what you did to get that?"
3. You and several of your friends have been waiting in line to get in the movie for about 15 minutes. Just as you're about to reach the ticket office, the guy in front of you lets about 6 people cut in.
4. You and a guy you're jointly doing a class project with are standing by Greg Hall. The two of you need to get in touch with 6 people in connection with your project. He is in a hurry to get home, so, as a quick way to organize things, the guy says, "Hey, why don't

you call those people this afternoon?"

5. You're studying in the South Lounge of the Union when a guy who's been trying to get you to date him walks up. He asks you if you want a cup of coffee, and you refuse. He looks at you and says, "Can't you just take a break for a few minutes?"
6. You have two hourlies in a couple of days. This afternoon you realized that you had to study at least several hours tonight. You, your roommate, and two friends have been cutting up and having a really good time, but it's getting late. You mention that you have to leave. One of your friends replies, "Don't go. You've got plenty of time."
7. You're sitting in one of your classes listening to a fairly interesting lecture. While the professor is in the middle of his presentation, the two girls right in front of you start talking in moderately loud tones of voice. They have been talking without stopping, and now they're so loud that the lecture is being completely drowned out.
8. A friend of yours borrowed your typewriter last week and gave you the impression that she was going to use it herself. Tonight in a phone conversation she lets it slip that she had borrowed it for a guy she's been dating. When you tell her you are surprised, she answers, "I thought you knew. Anyway, it doesn't matter."
9. You and one of your closest boy friends had agreed to meet for lunch at 12:00. You were on time, and you've been sitting at the table waiting for him nearly 20 minutes. Finally he comes rushing in and says, as he sits down, "Sorry I'm so late."
10. You've never had any problems with your watch. Last week you had it cleaned at the jeweler's. Now it's stopped running. When you tell these facts to the jeweler, he replies, "Sorry, Miss, we don't guarantee our work."
11. Last week you bought a pocket calculator and resolved not to ever loan it since it cost so much. A very good friend calls and says, "I have a take-home statistics quiz I just can't finish by hand, and it's due tomorrow. Can I borrow your new calculator? I'll be very careful with it."

12. You deliberately did not save a seat next to you for a girl in your class that you used to always sit by, but recently have started to dislike. As you're leaving class, she walks up to you and says, "Don't forget to save me a seat tomorrow."
13. Last night you studied for today's math class several hours because you knew today's lesson would be really hard. Your teacher has just asked you to work a problem on the board, and you can't solve it. After you've struggled with it for about 5 minutes, you hear her comment from the back of the room, "That can be expected when you don't do your homework."
14. A girl you don't know very well (and don't particularly want to know any better) comes in your room and says, "I know it's a little early for this, but how would you like to room together next semester? I don't have anyone else to room with."
15. You and a girlfriend are making a salad for a picnic together. You like big chunks of avocado. As you are cutting it up your friend says, "Please cut the avocado up into chunks that are a little smaller."
16. You're expecting a long-distance call from a guy who can only make the call between 11 and 12 pm. At 11 your roommate called one of her friends to talk for "just a second." It's now 11:45, and she's still talking.
17. As the class ends, your history professor announces a quiz for tomorrow over last week's material. A guy you don't know and who hardly ever comes to class comes up to you and says, "You were taking pretty complete notes. I'm desperate; could I borrow your notes to xerox them?"

(Break)
18. You've gone home for the weekend. A little while ago your mother asked you to go shopping with her, but you told her you were too tired. Suddenly your dad comes into the room where you're sitting alone and says, "Your mother has really been looking forward to taking you shopping with her tonight, and she says you don't want to go. I'd hate for her to be disappointed. Why don't you go?"

19. Earlier today a neighbor borrowed some scissors. When she did, you told her you would need them soon, and she promised to return them in half an hour. That was four hours ago. Because she hasn't returned them as she said she would, you haven't been able to get the work done that you were planning to do. At last she brings them back, saying, "Sorry I'm so late; I forgot."
20. One of your closest friends has wanted you to meet her new special boyfriend for a couple of weeks. Tonight she brought him over to introduce the two of you before they went out; you thought he was obnoxious. She has sent him on ahead of her to "get the car." As soon as he's gone she turns to you and says, excitedly, "What did you think?"
21. Earlier this evening you told your roommate you couldn't pay cards because you had a test coming up. You've been studying ever since, and you still have a lot to do. She has just come in again, saying, "You've done enough studying. Come on and play cards, at least for a break."
22. You had to stay up all night last night, and you have decided to skip lunch and take a two-hour nap before your afternoon class. Just as you are about to stretch out, your roommate comes into the room with two unexpected guests, her parents, and says, "Oh, I'm so glad you're here. Mom and Dad want to take us to lunch before they go back home."
23. You're sitting in your room thinking about how to finish all you have to do. Suddenly the phone rings, you pick it up, and all you hear is the sound of heavy breathing.
24. You and the guy you've been dating have been watching t.v. all evening. You have studying you feel you have to do. When you mention this to your date, he says, "You can do that later. Stay and watch television with me now."
25. You've gone to a movie alone to relax. There are 4 guys in front of you who keep talking louder and louder, so that now you can't hear the movie's dialogue.
26. You're at a football game with a date. There is a

guy you don't know sitting next to you who not only keeps criticizing the Illini loudly after each play, but who also bumps you during his accompanying gestures. He's just done it again.

27. Because of a recent experience, you're sure that the car you're doubling in is acting up because of its carburetor. You mention this to the group. The other girl's date turns to you and says, "What do you know? You're just a girl."
28. You've gone to the vending machine section of the library for a break. It's pretty crowded. You put your books on a desk to reserve it while you're getting a coke. When you get back to the desk where you left your books, you see that a guy has moved your books to the floor and is sitting in your desk.
29. You've been looking forward to taking one of your new close friends home with you. It's the night before you'd planned to leave. The phone rings and it's your friend, who says, "A guy I really want to start dating asked me out for this weekend. I've decided to stay here and go out with him."
30. You and a friend of yours subscribe to the News-Gazette together. Your friend paid the paperboy last month, but you don't have the money to take your turn this month. The paperboy has just come for his payment, and your friend says to you, "Take care of it, will you?"
31. There's an assignment that you worked very hard to complete last week. It's due tomorrow. Suddenly, the phone rings. It's a guy in your class you barely know, and he says, "Can I borrow your assignment? I didn't realize how hard it would be."
32. You have just picked out four items at the grocery store. As you are heading for the check-out counter, a woman with an overloaded cart sees you coming and rushes to get in front of you. As she does so, she bumps the front of your cart with hers and mutters, "Excuse me."
33. You're going by yourself to a ball game. As you get to your seat, you see that someone else is sitting there. You ask him to check the seat number on his ticket, and he replies, "I did that when I sat down."

34. You've gone home for the weekend with one of the guys you've been dating. Around the supper table, his parents invite the two of you to go see a movie you'd really like to see. Without consulting you, the guy says, "No thanks. We just want to watch t.v."

(Break)

35. There's a guy that lives near you that you've gone out with several times lately. After your last date, you decided not to go out with him anymore because he bores you. As you're leaving your place, you bump into him and he says, "Hi. I've been trying to get you on the phone to invite you to the movie this weekend. Want to go?"
36. Your roommate knows your date is coming in 30 minutes, but she's had the bathroom tied up for the last half hour shaving her legs. You need to shower. She shouts out to you, "This new razor is great. I haven't cut myself at all yet."
37. You're sitting at the library at one of the tables studying for an exam you have tomorrow morning. There is a couple across from you that has been talking for about 10 minutes. They are talking loudly and distractingly.
38. It's 10:00 am. You're waiting at the reserve desk in the library for a book that's due at 10:00. The girl who has it comes rushing in to check it in, and as she puts it down, a friend she brought with her picks it up. The librarian, who has seen it all, is letting her friend check it out.
39. You're just getting ready to leave Dooley's so you can get some laundry done before going to bed when a guy you used to go with stops you and asks you if he can buy you a drink. You explain that you have to do your laundry and refuse, but he orders the drink anyway and turns to you, saying, "Oh, you have time for one beer; tell me how you've been lately."
40. It's before history class. Your teacher, new to this campus, asks you to explain the directions to the library to one of your classmates. Just after you've started, your teacher remembers the directions and interrupts you to give the directions himself.

41. You had told a guy in one of your classes that you would help him with the most recent assignments if he got to the library before noon, but that you had errands you needed to do after 12:00. He said he'd be there. It's now 5 'till 12, and you're gathering your things up to go. The guy comes in and says, "I'm sorry I'm so late. Please help me out anyway."
42. You're taking a difficult exam. The guy next to you has already distracted you twice by asking you for the time. Now he interrupts you again, saying, "How much more time do we have?"
43. You're studying for an hourly you have tomorrow, and it looks like you'll have to cram during every minute between now and the test. A good friend phones and, after a long pause, says, "I know you're busy, but I'm really upset about some things. Could we talk for a while tonight?"
44. There are 5 other students (3 guys and 2 girls) in your seminar class. It's getting late and the class has no definite time to be over. As far as you're concerned, the discussion has gotten way off the topic into areas which do not even interest you. As a matter of fact, the teacher has just cracked a dirty joke and everyone (except you) is laughing.
45. You're sitting in your earliest class, and the girl next to you is letting her cigarette smoke come in your direction. You ask her nicely to stop. She snaps back, "If you don't like it, breathe through a handkerchief."
46. You've been studying all day, and you've decided that you need to work all weekend on a paper. You stop to call your parents as a study break. Your dad answers the phone and tells you that your mother has a surprise for you. She gets on the phone and says, in an excited voice, "Guess what? Your father and I have arranged to come visit you this weekend."
47. You're sitting in your room cleaning out your desk drawer. Your roommate, who is working on her homework, has been allowing one of your less-than-favorite albums to play over and over on her stereo. It's still playing now.
48. You're with a group of friends at Dooley's one night.

One of the guys went to buy beer, and before he went, you gave him a dollar to pay for yours. When he came back a second ago he handed you your beer, but no change.

49. You're at a party with a guy you've been dating for some time. He seems to be really enjoying himself, and so were you until you started to feel really sick. Your date comes up to you and says, "Isn't this a great party?"
50. You've been invited to a group party that you think you'd enjoy, but you don't have anyone to go with. You mention the party to a girl acquaintance of yours who, you can tell, doesn't really want to go. She replies, "I'll go with you if you really want to go."
51. You're sitting in your psych. class putting away a test you got back. You think the test was unfair. One of your classmates is telling the professor why one of the questions was ambiguous when the professor interrupts him and says, "I'll listen to you when, and if, you ever get a Ph.D."
52. You're "sleeping in" this morning, trying to catch up on your sleep. A friend of your roommate has come over to talk with her. They're talking in your room, softly, but loud enough to keep you awake.

Response Recording

The latency (length of time between moment when stimulus tape is stopped and moment when response is begun), duration (length of time between moment when response is begun and moment when response is completed, including pauses), and verbatim content of each response should be recorded systematically. To facilitate both test administration and later recording, the following notation should be employed:

- a) indicate sarcasm by placing an exclamation point (!) at the end of the response.*
- b) indicate prevarication by placing the word "lie" in parentheses at the end of the response.*
- c) indicate pauses by placing three dots (...) at the appropriate location within the response.
- d) indicate that a response was said teasingly or jokingly by placing a smile in a circle () at the end of the response.

The following special procedures are to be implemented under the described circumstances:

- a) if a woman responds with a delayed response (content reporting her actions at a time subsequent to the moment represented in the situation), say, Yes, but what would you do at the moment? and indicate your prompt by entering "Q" in the space provided for recording response latency. Record her prompted reaction as her response, and record the time required to state her prompted reaction as her response duration. Latency is not scorable.
- b) if a woman responds with a provisional or conditional reaction (content containing

*To reduce experimenter influence of testee responding, delay inquiries about questionable sarcasm or prevarication until completing the administration of all items.

qualifications of the described situation), say, What would you be most likely to do? and indicate your prompt by entering "Q" in the space provided for recording response latency. Record her prompted reaction as her response duration. Latency is not scorable.

- c) If an item is spoiled, that is, if some error arises which makes the administration of an item impossible or if the woman's response indicates that she misunderstood the content of an item, the response becomes not scorable and "n.s." should be entered in place of the verbatim response. Neither response latency nor length is scorable....

Response Scoring

A high level of familiarity with the scoring standards described in this section is absolutely mandatory for obtaining satisfactory interrater reliability. Subtle discriminations are frequently required; accuracy in making such distinctions necessitates both careful study of the entire manual as well as extensive practice with the illustrative examples included for each item.

In general, the degree of assertion represented by a given response is determined by the degree to which that response counteracts the momentary pressure represented in each described situation. The counteracting effectiveness of a particular response is intricately related to the sort of pressure prompting that response, however, so that six sets of scoring criteria are presented for the six different types of situations. Scale nine items (items for which assertion is not appropriate) are scored according to the criteria

appropriate for the other items included in their original situation types.

SITUATION TYPE ONE

A situation whose outcome or resolution is, at present, unclear. A situation in which someone is trying to get the woman to give in to a demand, do something she does not want to do. A situation in which someone has asked the woman to meet a request (do something) which is not what she had originally planned to do. The request or demand may be implicit.

EXAMPLES:

(21) Earlier this evening you told your roommate you couldn't play cards because you had a test coming up. You've been studying ever since, and you still have a lot to do. She has just come in again, saying, "You've done enough studying. Come on and play cards, at least for a break."

(24) You and the guy you've been dating have been watching TV at his place all evening. You have been studying you feel you have to do. When you mention this to your date, he says, "You can do that later. Stay and watch television with me now."

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES:

(AG1) The woman refuses to meet the demand of the other person; in refusing, she either verbally attacks and insults the personality of the other person or is sarcastic in her reply.

(AS4) The woman refuses to meet the demand or request of the other person; in refusing, she may either simply refuse, honestly state that she is unable to meet the request, or suggest something which presupposes her not acquiescing. She offers no explanation or apology, she does not avoid responding, and she does not lie.

(AS3) The woman refuses to meet the demand or request

of the other person; in refusing, she states that she is unable to meet the demand or request and offers the other person a truthful explanation of why she is unable to do so and/or apologizes for being unable to do so.

(AS2) The woman refuses to meet the demand or request of the other person; in refusing, either she lies, generally by stating that she has a fictional prior commitment or other plans, or she leaves the situation.

(AS1) The woman compromises with the person who has made the demand or request; she agrees to comply with the demand, but on her own terms. The terms usually involve renegotiating the circumstances under which she will comply.

(SU1) The woman neither refuses nor agrees to meet the demand or request. She may do this either by not verbally responding or by responding in a very noncommittal way without actually addressing the issue of the request or demand.

(SU2) The woman agrees to comply with the other person's demand or request, but in doing so, she states her reluctance.

(SU3) The woman agrees to comply with the other person's demand or request; she says nothing beyond her simple statement or compliance.

(SU4) The woman complies and hides her own feelings.

EXAMPLES:

5. You're studying in the South Lounge of the Union when a guy who's been trying to get you to date him walks up. He asks you if you want a cup of coffee, and when you refuse, he looks at you and says, "Can't you just take a break for a few minutes?"

AG1 "Not with you!"

"Can't you just take a hint and leave me alone?"

AS4 Shrug, smile, and say, "No, I can't."

"No."

AS3 "No, I've really got to study because I've been fooling around all afternoon; too bad you didn't show up sooner."

"I'd really rather not."

"I have quite a bit to do before I can quit."

"Sorry, no."

AS2 "I'm waiting for someone here." (lie)

"I have to get going now, anyway."

AS1 "Yes, but only for a short time."

- "OK, but just for ten minutes."
- SU1 "Yes, but I will be worried about this work."
"I've got a test tomorrow and I'm really busy, but OK."
- SU2 I'd shrug and look undecided.
"Well..."
- SU3 I'd take a break, and during that time I'd explain that I had another boyfriend--even if I didn't.
- SU4 "OK, I was really tired of studying anyway."
I'd go and try not to be hurried so I wouldn't hurt his feelings.
6. You have two hourlies in a couple of days. This afternoon you realized that you had to study at least several hours tonight. You, your roommate, and two friends have been cutting up and having a really good time, but it's getting late. You mention that you have to leave, and one of your friends replies, "Don't go. You've got plenty of time."
- AG1 "A lot you know!"
"Mind your own business and stop trying to fuck up my grades!"
- AS4 "I have to study."
"No, I've really got to go."
- AS3 "I'm sorry, but I must study or I'll never make it to law school."
"Maybe later."
"No, I don't. I have too much to do, and I don't know how to study efficiently."
- AS2 "No, I'm supposed to meet someone for a review session." (lie)
- AS1 "Oh, well, I'll stay for a little while, but I have to get back soon."
"Well, I guess I have got another half hour to goof around--but that's all!"
- SU1 "OK, but I really shouldn't."
- SU2 "You don't want this to break up, do you?"
"I haven't booked very much yet."
I'd go to sleep and study in the morning--go to sleep early.
- SU3 I'd probably stay.
I'd probably end up staying a while.
"Okay."
- SU4 "Maybe you're right; I'm always more efficient under pressure, anyway."
"You're right" and I'd stay.

11. Last week you bought a pocket calculator and

resolved not to ever loan it since it cost so much. A very good friend calls and says, "I have a take-home statistics quiz I just can't finish by hand, and it's due tomorrow. Can I borrow your new calculator? I'll be really careful with it."

AG1 "If you were really a good friend, you wouldn't ask."

"I'll bet you would be!"

AS4 "How about trying to borrow someone else's?"

"I'm sure you would be, but I can't."

AS3 "I'm sorry, but I promised myself not to loan it out so I can't let you have it."

AS2 "I promised my folks that I wouldn't loan it out." (lie)

"I have to use it tonight." (lie)

AS1 "Only if you come over and use it in my room. I'd rather not lend it out."

"Yes, if you'll come over to my place to use it so I can explain how it works to you."

"OK, but if it's damaged, you'll have to pay for getting it fixed. OK?"

SU1 "All right, but don't lose it or break it, OK? I just bought it and it was a hell of a lot of money."

"OK, but if it's damaged, I hope you'll take responsibility."

SU2 I'd hem and haw around but if she really insisted I'd let her borrow it.

I wouldn't know what to say, so I wouldn't say anything in hopes she'd get the point.

SU3 "OK, sure."

I'd say "OK," be pissed off, and complain to another friend.

SU4 "Yes, since this is an emergency."

12. You deliberately did not save a seat next to you for a girl in your class that you used to always sit by, but recently have started to dislike. As you're leaving class she walks up to you and says, "Don't forget to save me a seat tomorrow."

AG1 "Why don't you get here on time, then, if you want a seat!"

"I didn't forget today; I just didn't want to!"

AS4 "I'd rather not sit by you."

AS3 "I'd rather not sit by you; I want to get to know other people in here, too."

- AS2 "I can't, I have to come late tomorrow." (lie)
 "I don't know if I can. I barely make it here on time myself." (lie)
- AS1 "OK, but just tomorrow. It's getting to be too much trouble every day."
- SU1 "OK, but it's hard to in this class."
- SU2 "If there's an empty seat."
 "Oh."
 "I'll try, but this class fills up pretty fast."
- SU3 I'd say "OK" but then I'd "accidentally forget" again tomorrow.
 "I'll try."
- SU4 "I'm sorry I forgot. You know how it is when people start crowding. I'll probably come in late tomorrow, so whoever gets here first will try to remember if there's room."
14. A girl you don't know very well (and don't particularly want to know any better) comes in your room and says, "I know it's a little early for this, but how would you like to room together next semester? I don't have anyone to room with."
- AG1 "We don't know each other well enough to agree to room together."
 "You must really be lonely."
- AS4 "I can't. But if I hear of anybody who needs a roommate, I'll let you know."
 "I don't want to commit myself this early."
- AS3 "I don't think so; I've got plans."
 "Well, it is early, and I've already sort of planned to stay in here again, but thanks for the offer."
- AS2 "Well, I've already made arrangements to room with someone else." (lie)
- AS1 "Let me think about it for a while. I think my roommate and I are living together again--but if we decide not to, I'll keep you in mind."
 "Well, I have some friends that I've already discussed this with--but let's wait and see what develops in the next couple of days."
- SU1 "OK, but since we don't know each other well, it might not work out."
- SU2 "Let me think about it, OK?"
 "Well, I don't know. It's a little early and I don't even know where I'm living next year."
- SU3 "Sure."
- SU4 "Great, I've wanted to room with someone new."

21. Earlier this evening you told your roommate you couldn't play cards because you had a test coming up. You've been studying ever since, and you still have a lot to do. She has just come in again, saying, "You've done enough studying. Come on and play cards, at least for a break."

AG1 "I told you, I can't. This test is very important. Maybe you don't need to study, but I do! I don't want to flunk out."

AS4 "No."

"Uh-uh."

AS3 "No, I really want to do well on this test."

"I would, but I'd never get back to this. Thanks anyway."

AS2 "I can't, I have to go to the library in a little while." (lie)

AS1 "When I finish this chapter, then I'll take a break."

"Only for half an hour."

SU1 "OK, but I know I'll worry about the test the whole time."

"I know I shouldn't, but OK."

SU2 "I really shouldn't...but, well..."

SU3 I'd say "OK" and then just play for a little while.

SU4 "OK, I do need a break."

22. You had to stay up all night last night, and you have decided to skip lunch and take a two-hour nap before your afternoon class. Just as you are about to stretch out, your roommate comes into the room with two unexpected guests, her parents, and says, "Oh, I'm so glad you're here. Mom and Dad want to take us to lunch before they go back home."

AG1 "Can't you ever leave me alone?"

AS4 "Not now; maybe some other time."

AS3 "No, I've got to sleep."

"I'm sorry, I just can't. I'm absolutely exhausted from studying last night."

AS2 "Thanks anyway, but I'm not hungry." (lie)

"No thanks, I'm on a diet." (lie)

AS1 "Oh, fine, but I'll need a couple of minutes to wash up before we leave."

"All right. Wait a minute while I get ready."

SU1 "I was going to lay down, but I'd like to see your parents. I'll go; thanks for asking."

- "Oh, OK. I was going to take a nap, but the company looks much better!"
- SU2 "Geez, I'm really tired. I don't know if I could stay awake to eat."
- SU3 I'd go and take a nap after my afternoon class.
- SU4 I'd go and not let on I was tired or complain about it.
- "Sure. I'd love to."

24. You and the guy you've been dating have been watching TV at his place all evening. You have studying you feel you have to do. When you mention this to your date, he says, "You can do that later. Stay and watch television with me now."

- AG1 "This is ridiculous; I really have to work on some stuff."
- "It's boring. I think I'd rather study for a while; then we'll decide what to do."
- "Respect my feelings. If I have to study, then I have to study!"
- AS4 "Why don't we both go study?"
- "No, I think I'm going to go study."
- "I can't do it later, I have to do it now."
- "I want to study."
- AS3 "I'd like to, but I really need to get my work done."
- "I really have to study. If I get done early enough, I'll come back."
- AS2 I would get my books and study. He can watch TV by himself.
- "No, I've watched enough. I really have to go to the library." (lie)
- AS1 "I've really got to study. I can stay for a couple of minutes, but then I've really got to go."
- I'd get a book to read and get some reading done even while watching TV.
- SU1 "OK, but I'm really uptight."
- SU2 "You know, you're really a terrible influence." (jokingly)
- "I really do need to study. Sometimes you do too."
- SU3 Probably I'd end up watching TV.
- "All right."
- SU4 "Sure. I'd rather do that anyway."

35. There's a guy that lives near you that you've gone out with several times lately. After your last

date, you decided not to go out with him anymore because he bores you. As you're leaving your place, you bump into him and he says, "Hi. I've been trying to get you on the phone to invite you to the movie this weekend. Want to go?"

AG1 "Not with you."

"No, you bore me."

AS4 "I don't think so..."

"It is nice of you to ask me, but I'd rather not."

"No thanks."

AS3 "Well, I've been pretty busy. I don't think so. But thanks anyway."

AS2 "Thanks, but I've made plans already." (lie)

"No, I'm going out with some friends." (lie)

AS1 "Well, maybe. What's the movie?"

"Only if you bring me back as soon as the movie's over."

SU1 "Well, I don't know...OK, we can try one more time."

SU2 "This weekend is pretty full. I don't know."

SU3 "Sure."

SU4 "I'd love to."

39. You're just getting ready to leave Dooley's so you can get some laundry done before going to bed when a guy you used to go with stops you and asks you if he can buy you a drink. You explain that you have to do your laundry and refuse, but he orders the drink anyway and turns to you, saying, "Oh, you have time for one beer; tell me how you've been lately."

AG1 "Drink that drink yourself!"

"Getting that drink without my saying I wanted it was really inconsiderate."

AS4 "I've been...Really, I have to go. Why don't you stop by sometime?"

"I'm fine. Listen, I'm leaving. Sorry about the drink. Bye!"

AS3 "No, I really can't. Sorry, I'll see you around."

"Sorry, maybe I'll take you up on it next time."

AS2 "I really don't; can I leave?"

"No I promised to meet some people tonight." (lie)

AS1 "One beer, and then I'm leaving."

"Well, I can't stay but for a few minutes."

SU1 "Looks like I have no choice."

- "I shouldn't let you get away with that, but OK. I've been fine. And you?"
- SU2 I'd drink it fast and leave.
- I wouldn't say anything; I'd just look at him.
- SU3 "OK. How've you been?"
- I'd drink the beer with him and then leave after about ten minutes.
- SU4 I'd sit down and start talking to him. The laundry can usually wait.
46. You've been studying all day, and you've decided that you need to work all weekend on a paper. You stop to call your parents as a study break. Your dad answers the phone and tells you that your mother has a surprise for you. She gets on the phone and says, in an excited voice, "Guess what? Your father and I have arranged to come visit you this weekend."
- AG1 "Why did you pick such a bad time for me?"
- "Didn't it occur to you to ask first?"
- AS4 "Mom, it'll have to be another time."
- "Mom, that's just not possible."
- AS3 "There's no way! I've got a paper due Monday that will take all weekend."
- "Mom, I just can't. I've got so much work to do!"
- AS2 "That's great, except I have lots of work. Can you postpone it until next weekend?"
- "Would you mind coming some other time?"
- AS1 "Great! Mom, can you leave early on Sunday? I have a paper to do."
- "Well, I have a lot to do. Maybe we can spend Saturday dinner together."
- SU1 "That's great, Mom. Unfortunately, I have lots of work. But I'd love to see you!"
- "It'll be a tight weekend with all my work, but great!"
- SU2 "Mom, why now? I'm trying to pretend I'm a student, so I have to work all weekend."
- "Gee, when were you planning on getting here and leaving?"
- SU3 "That's good. It's about time you decided to come for a visit!"
- SU4 "I'll be really happy to see you!"
- "Fantastic! I'd really like that. I'm so glad you decided to come."

49. You're at a party with a guy you've been dating for some time. He seems to be really enjoying himself,

and so were you until you started feeling feverish. Now you're starting to feel really sick. Your date comes up to you and says, "Isn't this a great party?"

AG1 "It probably is, but I'm too sick to care. Thanks for noticing!"

AS4 "Yeah, I hate to interrupt your fun, but would you take me home?"
"I'm going home."

AS3 "Would you take me home? I really don't feel good."

"I'm sick; take me home."

AS2 "Yeah, but I don't feel very well. Could you take me home now?"

"Yeah, but I've had too much to drink. I want to leave."

AS1 "Yeah, but I wish I didn't feel so sick. Could we leave in a little while?"

SU1 "It is, but I'm afraid I'm not feeling well. I think I'll go see if there's some place I can lie down."

SU2 "Yeah, but I really feel sick. Maybe I should sit for a while." (hopefully, he'll get the hint)
"Yeah, but I've had too much to drink. How about going outside for a minute so I can get some fresh air, huh?"

SU3 "Yeah, it is."

SU4 "It's great. I'm meeting so many interesting people!"

50. You've been invited to a group party that you think you'd enjoy, but you don't have anyone to go with. You mention the party to a girl acquaintance of yours who, you can tell, doesn't really want to go. She replies, "I'll go with you if you really want to go."

AG1 "Wallflower!"

"Jesus, are you trying to make me feel guilty?"

AS4 "Oh, come on."

"Good! It should be a lot of fun."

"We can go for just a little while, and if you don't like it, we can leave."

AS3 "Hey, this is really important to me. Come on!"

"I'm sorry to put you in this spot, but I do want to go. Please go with me."

AS2 "I told them that you'd probably be coming." (lie)
I'd take her at her word and say no more about it.

AS1 "I really do, but if you don't, I'll go alone or ask someone else."

- "Are you sure?"
- SU1 "I'd like to go, but since you don't want to, I'll ask around."
"No, I understand."
- SU2 "If you don't want to go, don't worry about it. Forget it."
I'd try and find someone else to go with.
- SU3 "No, that's OK. Maybe I can find someone else."
"If you don't want to go, you don't have to. I understand."
- SU4 "No, I don't want you to go if you don't want to."
That's OK; I'll go alone."
"Forget it; it doesn't matter."

Situations for Which Assertion is NOT Warranted
(Scored by Type I Criteria)

18. You've gone home for the weekend. A little while ago your mother asked you to go shopping with her, but you told her you were too tired. Suddenly your dad comes into the room where you're sitting alone and says, "Your mother has been really looking forward to taking you shopping with her tonight, and she says you don't want to go. I'd hate for her to be disappointed. Why don't you go?"

- AG1 "OK, OK. I'm sure a person can't even rest up when she's at home."
"Because what I want is as important as what she wants is!"
- AS4 "I just can't."
- AS3 "I'm too tired to go."
- AS2 "I promised someone I'd be here if they needed to call." (lie)
"Dad, can't I just rest? I'm so tired!"
- AS1 "OK, but I'll have to tell her I don't want to spend too much time shopping 'cause I'm really tired."
I'd go in and tell Ma I'd changed my mind and make plans to go the next day.
- SU1 "Well, I'm really tired, but if it's that important, I'll go."
"I really don't feel like it, but if she's planned to go, I guess I can go with her."
- SU2 "I am really tired, but if she's been looking forward to it, maybe I'll reconsider."
"Oh, oh. I didn't know it was such a big deal."

SU3 "OK. I didn't really think it made any difference to her."

SU4 I'd go for her benefit.

"OK. It can't hurt for a few hours, anyway.

Maybe I'll even pick up a few things for school."

20. One of your closest friends has wanted you to meet her new special boyfriend for a couple of weeks. Tonight she brought him over to introduce the two of you before they went out; you thought he was obnoxious. She has sent him on ahead of her to "get the car." As soon as he's gone she turns to you and says, excitedly, "What did you think?"

AG1 "Jesus! What an S.O.B."

AS4 "We obviously have different tastes. He's an okay guy, but I would never date him."

"I myself don't find him appealing, but if you do, that's all that counts."

AS3 "I really can't tell on such short exposure, but on first impression, I thought he was kind of obnoxious."

AS2 "He's not my type."

AS1 "He's okay, but a little bold, isn't he?"

SU1 "He seems nice. I didn't get to talk to him too much, though."

"Well, he's okay, I guess. He's cute."

SU2 "Well, I really don't know him all that well to make a comment. I'm not sure, he might be a nice guy. Ask me a little later."

SU3 "He's nice."

"He seems nice. I hope the two of you have a good time tonight."

SU4 "He's a good talker."

43. You're studying for an hourly you have tomorrow, and it looks like you'll have to cram during every minute between now and the test. A good friend phones and, after a long pause, says, "I know you're busy, but I'm really upset about some things. Could we talk for a while tonight?"

AG1 "Tell me what it's about first. I have to see if it's really important."

"No way! You're not worth it."

AS4 "I simply must say no."

"Why don't you write down your feelings to clarify them and I'll meet you after my hourly tomorrow."

AS3 "I just can't; I have to study."

- "I have to study. But if I have some time when I'm through, I'll be sure to call you."
- AS2 "Can it wait 'til tomorrow night? I'm swamped with work."
- "Please understand; I'm desperate."
- AS1 "I have an hourly, but I can talk for half an hour or so..."
- "Sure, for a little while, but I do have an hourly tomorrow."
- SU1 "OK. About what time and for how long?"
- "I'll be nervous about the test while we talk, but okay."
- SU2 "Well, I do have this exam tomorrow, but if it's really important, studying can wait."
- "Yes, I think so. Why don't you come over and we'll see what we can do?"
- SU3 "OK."
- "Sure."
- SU4 "Of course. You know your friendship is more important than a test."
- "Of course. Is everything okay?"

SITUATION TYPE TWO

A situation whose outcome or resolution is, at present, unclear. A situation in which the woman's preferences are not fulfilled at present, but in which there is a possibility for their being met. A situation in which a woman's rights are being violated in that she is being unnecessarily inconvenienced by another person(s).

EXAMPLES:

(10) You've never had any problems with your watch. Last week you had it cleaned at the jeweler's. Now it's stopped running. When you tell these facts to the jeweler, he replies, "Sorry Miss, we don't guarantee our work."

(33) You're going by yourself to a ball game. As you get to your seat, you see that someone else is sitting there. You ask him to check the seat number on his ticket, and he replies, "I did that when I sat down."

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES:

(AG1) The woman makes a verbal remark or verbal demand directly to the other which conveys primarily her antagonism through the use of swear words, offensive or sarcastic comments, or offensive physical movements (hitting, pushing, shoving). In some cases, the physical actions may be present without any verbal remark. The response itself (verbal and/or physical) indicates strong, sharp opposition to the behavior of the other person(s).

(AS3) The woman makes a verbal demand for a specific action or change on the part of the other directly to the other; the verbal demand places the other person in a position where they must now act in some manner.

(AS2) The woman makes a verbal request for a specific action or change on the part of the other person in a position where they must now act in some manner. The woman may supplement her request by seeking aid from an appropriate authority (usher, Better Business Bureau, teacher), follows up her request with a suggested alternative which functions to lead the other to moderation, accord, or satisfaction, or removes herself from the situation.

(AS1) The woman makes a verbal remark with the purpose of informing the other that she is not pleased with the current state of affairs. This verbal remark implies, but does not state directly, that action on the part of the other could be made. This remark is made directly to the other.

(SU1) The woman expresses annoyance or disapproval in a manner which is not readily noticeable. This expression may be in the form of noises, (coughing, sighing) or physical actions (tapping fingers or foot, moving about) or in the form of a verbal remark states so softly as to be incomprehensible or in the form of facial expressions (grimacing, staring) made in the other's direction. Alternatively, she may make a verbal remark with the purpose of informing the other that she is not pleased with the current state of affairs. This verbal remark implies, but does not state directly, that action on the part of the other could be made. The remark is made either by the woman "to herself" or to her friends in a tone of voice loud enough for the other person to overhear. The remark is followed in some cases by the woman's seeking aid from an appropriate authority. The woman may subsequently remove herself from the

situation.

(SU2) The woman makes no attempt to convey her feelings about the situation to the other. She makes no response to the distasteful aspects of the encounter, although she remains in the situation despite its displeasure for her.

(SU3) The woman merely leaves the situation (physically or psychologically).

3. You and several of your friends have been waiting in line to get in the movie for about 15 minutes. Just as you're about to reach the ticket office, the guy in front of you lets about 6 people cut in.

AG1 "Hey, get back there. I've been waiting 15 fucking minutes to get up here."

"What the hell is going on here?"

AS3 "Buddy, why don't you and your friends wait at the end of the line? It's back there."

"Get out of line."

AS2 "How about letting us go before your friends since we were here first?"

"Listen, we've been waiting for a while. Why don't you get to the end of the line?"

AS1 "Aw, come on, there's a lot of people here who've been waiting a long time."

"Excuse me, but we were here first."

"I can't believe you did that."

SU1 I would probably just stand there and complain to myself or my friends.

I would look upset and say "what a jerk" to my friends.

SU2 I would probably not say anything because if they were my friends, I'd do the same.

It wouldn't upset me.

I'd let them go ahead of me.

SU3 Quietly get in front of them.

If I didn't get in, I would argue with the ticket taker.

7. You're sitting in one of your classes listening to a fairly interesting lecture. While the professor is in the middle of his presentation, the two girls right in front of you start talking in a moderately loud tone of voice. They have been talking without stopping, and now they're so loud that the lecture is being completely drowned out.

- AG1 "Would you please shut up?"
- AS3 "Excuse me, but I can't hear the lecture and I would appreciate it if you could either be more quiet or go somewhere else."
"Be quiet."
- AS2 "Could you please be quiet? I can't hear."
"Please be quiet."
- AS1 "I can't hear because you're talking too loud."
I'd tap them on the shoulder and say "do you mind?"
- SU1 I would say "Shhh."
I would say "I wish some people could shut up" to myself.
- SU2 I'd move around in my seat.*
I probably wouldn't say anything--I might cough.
I would probably do or say nothing.
I would just try to ignore them.
- SU3 I'd change seats.

10. You've never had any problems with your watch. Last week you had it cleaned at the jeweler's. Now it's stopped running. When you tell these facts to the jeweler, he replies, "Sorry, Miss, we don't guarantee our work."

- AG1 "Of course not, if it's this bad."
"Well, I certainly won't use your shop again!"
- AS3 "Well, you should do something about it without me having to pay again."
"You should have told me that in the first place. I think you should fix it."
- AS2 "Well, what do I have to do now? Pay you even though it seems to be your fault that it's stopped working?"
"The fact still remains that my watch worked before I brought it in and now it doesn't. What are you going to do about it?"
- AS1 "Can I talk to your boss?"
"Well, how can you do that?"
"I intend to report you to the Better Business Bureau."
"But I did nothing to the watch."

*Note: counts as SU2 rather than SU1 because since the two talking girls are in front of S, this movement would not be apparent to them.

SU1 Frown at him, then just leave.
 I would glare at him and later write the Better Business Bureau to see what could be done.

SU2 I would be upset but wouldn't say anything.
 "Well, how much will it cost to fix it?"

SU3 I'd just leave.
 I would probably drop the whole thing and take it somewhere else.

16. You're expecting a long-distance call from a guy who can only make the call between 11 and 12 pm. At 11 your roommate called one of her friends to talk for "just a second." It's now 11:45, and she's still talking.

AG1 "Get your ass off that telephone."
 "Get off the Goddamn phone already."

AS3 "My boyfriend is going to phone, so call your friend back later."
 "You said you'd be on just a second; get off the phone."

AS2 Slip her this note: "Please hang up, I am expecting a long-distance phone call."
 "Hey, I hate to do this, but can you hang up and call them back later?"

AS1 "Come on, you know I'm expecting a call. Hurry up."
 "Can't you talk some other time?"

SU1 I would stand there until she hung up.
 Sit down next to her and stare at her.

SU2 I'd be angry, but I wouldn't say anything--I'd just wait.

SU3 I'd call him from another phone.

23. You're sitting in your room thinking about how to finish all you have to do. Suddenly the phone rings, you pick it up, and all you hear is the sound of heavy breathing.

AG1 Mutter "Oh, shit" and hang up the phone.
 "Get fucked!"

AS3 "Say who you are."
 "Don't call back."

AS2 "Who is this?"
 I'd ask, "Who is this?" then hang up if I got no answer.

AS1 "Is this all you've got to do? You sure must be perverted."
 "Hello...hello."

"This is a bad season for asthma."
 SU1 I'd breathe back very heavily and wait to find out what the caller does.
 I'd laugh, hang up, and tell my roommate "guess what?"
 SU2 "Hello."
 I'd just wait.
 SU3 Hang it up right away.
 Hang up.

25. You've gone to a movie alone to relax. There are four guys in front of you who keep talking louder and louder, so that now you can't hear the movie's dialogue.

AG1 "Shut the fuck up!"
 "Stop being so obnoxious and shut up!"
 AS3 "Quiet down; you're talking too loud to hear."
 "Can it, you guys, I came here to listen to the movie."
 AS2 "Would you guys mind shutting up?"
 "Please be quieter; you came to watch a movie, not to talk."
 AS1 "Shhh."
 "I sure wish it was quiet in here."
 SU1 I'd complain loudly to whoever was around me.
 I'd start "accidentally" kicking the seat in front of me.
 SU2 I'd get extremely frustrated.
 I won't say anything--just sit there.
 SU3 I'd change seats.
 I'd get up and move to a new seat.

26. You're at a football game with a date. There is a guy you don't know sitting next to you who not only keeps criticizing the Illini loudly after each play, but who also bumps you during his accompanying gestures. He's just done it again.

AG1 I'd bump him back and say "excuse me" sarcastically.
 "Are you always this obnoxious?"
 AS3 "Hey, man, watch it next time."
 "Move over some; you keep bumping me."
 AS2 "Would you please stop bumping me?"
 "Would you please watch who you're poking?"
 AS1 "Excuse me! I seem to be in your way!"
 "Excuse me!" (sarcastically)

SU1 "This guy sure gets involved. Is there any room where we can move down some?"
I probably would glare at him; I wouldn't actually tell him to stop.

SU2 I probably wouldn't say anything.
I would just sit there and be aggravated.

SU3 I would make an air sound and keep scooting away from him.

Ask my date if he can move over a little.

28. You've gone to the vending machine section of the library for a break. It's pretty crowded. You put your books on a desk to reserve it while you're getting a Coke. When you get back to the desk where you left your books, you see that a guy has moved your books to the floor and is sitting in your desk.

AS1 "That was highly inconsiderate of you. Thanks a shitload!"

"Jesus Christ, man, didn't you see there were books there?"

AS3 "Excuse me, but I was here before you. I just went for a Coke and would like to have my seat back."

"Uh, I was sitting there. I'd appreciate it if you'd move."

AS2 "Excuse me, but I was sitting there. Would you please find another seat?"

"Excuse me, but I was sitting there. I was called to the desk, so I had to leave. Could you please move?" (lie)

AS1 "Where did you put my books?"

"Excuse me, you're in my seat."

SU1 Pick up my books and stand there.

I'd bend down to pick up the books and pretty apparently look put-out.

SU2 (No SU2 possible for this situation).

SU3 I'd go out and sit on a radiator.

I'd just find a spot on the floor and sit there.

32. You have just picked out four items at the grocery store. As you are heading for the check-out counter, a woman with an overloaded cart sees you coming and rushes to get in front of you. As she does so, she bumps the front of your cart with hers and mutters, "Excuse me."

- AG1 "Excuse me for being alive."
 "Oh, sure!" (sarcastically)
- AS3 "You should let me go first."
 "I belong in front of you; let me through."
- AS2 "Do you mind if I go ahead of you? I only
 have a few things."
 "Could I go ahead of you? I only have four
 items."
- AS1 "I believe I was here first."
 "You should be a bit more careful with that
 cart."
 "You're excused."
- SU1 Mutter "no" and move to a different counter.
 I'd mutter to myself and wait in line behind
 her.
- SU2 I'd just let her go--she must be in a hurry
 to get where she's going.
- SU3 It doesn't matter, I probably wasn't in that
 big of a hurry anyway.
 "That's OK."

33. You're going by yourself to a ball game.
 As you get to your seat, you see that someone else
 is sitting there. You ask him to check the seat
 number on his ticket, and he replies, "I did that
 when I sat down."

- AG1 I'd put my ticket in front of his face and
 say "look at it."
 "Well, this is my seat, so get up and find
 your own!"
- AS3 "Check it again."
 "Well, I have a ticket that says this is my
 seat, too. Let's compare them."
- AS2 "Well, maybe I'm wrong, but could I please
 see yours, too?"
 "Would you check it again? I think you're
 in the wrong seat."
- AS1 "Are you sure you're in the right seat? This
 is the same number that's on my ticket."
 I'd show him my ticket.
- SU1 I would check mine again.
 I'd get the usher.
- SU2 I'd just stand there and wait.
- SU3 I would find another vacant seat.
 I'd leave.

37. You're sitting at the library at one of the
 tables studying for an exam you have tomorrow

morning. There is a couple across from you that has been talking for about ten minutes. They are talking loudly and distractingly.

AG1 "Shut up, dammit."

"Stop being so fucking inconsiderate and shut up!"

AS3 "Hold it down."

"If you want to talk, go outside."

AS2 "Would you please stop talking?"

"Could you keep it down or go outside? I'm trying to study."

AS1 "Excuse me. It's really difficult to study when people are talking."

"People are supposed to be quiet in libraries."

SU1 If intermittent glances and stares don't work, I move.

I'd give them one of my famous dirty looks.

SU2 I'd put in earplugs.

SU3 I'd move.

I would get up and go somewhere else.

38. It's 10:00 AM. You're waiting at the reserve desk in the library for a book that's due at 10:00. The girl who had it comes rushing in to check it in, and as she puts it down, a friend she brought in with her picks it up. The librarian, who has seen it all, is letting her friend check it out.

AG1 "So considerate of you!"

AS3 "I was here first; it's only fair that I get the book."

"Excuse me, but I've been waiting for that book. I think I should have it."

AS2 "Do you mind if I get the book? I've been waiting longer."

"Don't you think I deserve the book?"

AS1 "Excuse me, but that's the book I've been waiting for. Don't you remember?"

"I'm still here waiting."

SU1 I would frown and say, "I really needed that book. When is it due in again?"

I'd grunt and come back later.

SU2 "When is that book due back again?"

I lose. Her friend got it first. I wouldn't argue.

I'd go home.

42. You're taking a difficult exam. The guy next to you has already distracted you twice by asking

you for the time. Now he interrupts you again, saying, "How much more time do we have?"

AG1 "Look, why don't you invest in a watch if you're so hung up on the time?"

"Shut up, Goddamnit!"

AS3 "Stop bothering me; not enough."

"Leave me alone; you're distracting me."

AS2 "Listen, I can't concentrate. Could you be quiet?"

"It's 10:30; please don't ask again."

AS1 "Not enough if you keep asking for the time."

"Only 10 minutes, which will never be enough if you keep interrupting me."

SU1 (To instructor) "Would you please put the time on the board every 10-15 minutes?"

I would tell him while giving him a dirty look.

"Five minutes less than the last time you asked."

SU2 "Fifteen more minutes."

I'd keep writing, wouldn't look at him, and would hold up my arm for him to see the time.

SU3 I'd put my watch so that he could see it, too. I'd ignore him.

45. You're sitting in your earliest class, and the girl next to you is letting her cigarette smoke come in your direction. You ask her nicely to stop. She snaps back, "If you don't like it, breathe through a handkerchief."

AG1 "Why the hell should I? There's a no smoking sign in here, anyway."

"Why don't you give me a cigarette so I can blow smoke in your face!"

AS3 "You're polluting the air. Stop blowing your smoke in my direction."

"I think you should consider others. At least blow the smoke away from me."

AS2 "Please put it out. I don't want smoke in my lungs."

"I'm sorry, but I'm allergic. Would you please stop until after class?"

AS1 "Could you loan me a handkerchief?"

"It's against University regulations to smoke."

SU1 "It's your lungs," I'd mutter.

SU2 I would stop there, but be angry the rest of class.

I'd give in.

SU3 I would obviously get up and move.

I would probably move.

52. You're "sleeping in" this morning, trying to catch up on your sleep. A friend of your roommate has come over to talk with her. They're talking in your room, softly, but loud enough to keep you awake.

AG1 "Shut up, will you? I'm trying to sleep!"
 "Jesus! Can't you be considerate?"

AS3 "Go somewhere else."
 "Hey, go to another room, you two, I'm dead tired."

AS2 "Hey, I'm really tired. Would you mind going to the lounge?"

"Could you be a little quieter?"

AS1 "I can't sleep."
 "It's noisy in here."

SU1 I'd make a big scene of turning over and put the pillow over my head.

I'd pull the blankets over my head.

SU2 I'd wait for a while and try to get back to sleep.

I would ignore it.

SU3 I'd probably just decide to get up and get dressed.

I would just give up on the whole idea and get up and do some work.

SITUATION TYPE THREE

A situation in which a woman has been insulted by someone. The insult may be either implicit or explicit, but its implications are an offense against her personal dignity. The effects of the insult remain.

EXAMPLES:

(27) Because of a recent experience, you're sure that the car you're doubling in is acting up because of its carburetor. You mention this to the group. The other girl's date turns to you and says, "What do you know? You're just a girl."

(36) Your roommate knows your date is coming in 30 minutes, but she's had the bathroom tied up for the last half hour shaving her legs. You need to shower. She shouts out to you, "This new razor is great. I haven't cut myself at all yet."

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES:

(AG1) The woman uses profanity or sarcasm to insult the other and/or rebut the other person's insult.

(AS2) The woman requests the other to remove the effects of the insult (take back illegitimate implications or make up for an earlier slight or discontinue current insulting behavior) or she counters them herself; she objects to the situation as it presently stands.

(AS1) The woman laughs at the person who has just insulted her.

(SU1) The woman apologizes to her insulter for provoking him/her. The apology may be implicit and take the form of an explanation or self-defense to the insulter.

(SU2) The woman deals with the situation indirectly by postponing immediate action directed at the insulter and instead remarking about her displeasure to bystanders, to herself, or inaudibly, or she deals with the situation indirectly by expressing displeasure merely through facial expression or some other physical movement.

(SU3) The woman makes no verbal or physical response to the immediate situation.

2. Your teacher has just handed you your last test back, one you studied really hard for. As you open it up, you see that you got an "A", and you hear the guy next to you mutter, "I wonder what you did to get that?"

AG1 "I prayed a lot!"

"Try studying, Jack!"

"Studied my head off, asshole!"

AS2 "I studied."

"Studied, of course."

"Well, I read all the readings and studied, I guess."

AS1 I'd laugh.

"I don't know." (laugh)

SU1 "I only studied in every spare minute I had; I really wanted to get an A on this test."

"Studied! A lot of luck, too. I really didn't know what I'd get."

SU2 I would give him a "go to hell" look.

I'd say "Just studied all night" to myself.

SU3 I would ignore him.

I wouldn't say anything as I'd know that I

deserved the grade.
Just sit there.

13. Last night you studied for today's math class several hours because you knew today's lesson would be really hard. Your teacher has just asked you to work a problem on the board, and you can't solve it. After you've struggled with it for 5 minutes, you hear her comment from the back of the room, "That can be expected when you don't do your homework."

AG1 "I did do my homework, and I can do without your narrow view of students."

"I am sorry if you haven't the patience to help me; however, I have worked on my homework and obviously need more than you can give."

AS2 "I did study; that's not the problem. I'd like a more complete explanation."

"I did do my homework, I just don't understand this problem."

AS1 I'd laugh and say "sometimes that can be expected when you do do your homework," jokingly.

SU1 "I did do my homework; it just doesn't come easy for me."

"I did do my work, but I just can't seem to get problems of this type. I'm sorry."

SU2 I would stay after class and explain that I did study.

After class I'd go to her and tell her I did work hard.

SU3 I probably wouldn't say anything or give a dirty look.

I would get demoralized and give up trying to solve the problem.

27. Because of a recent experience, you're sure that the car you're doubling in is acting up because of its carburetor. You mention this to the group. The other girl's date turns to you and says, "What do you know? You're just a girl."

AG1 "I know a hell of a lot more than you."

"What do you mean by that crack?"

AS2 "What does that have to do with it?"

"I don't see what my being 'just a girl' has to do with it. My own car acted just this way last week when I had carburetor trouble."

AS1 I'd make a joke of it and say I was an ace mechanic in disguise.

SU1 "Well, I think it is. Please, could you check it anyway?"

"It sounded like this last week, and I know it can mess up the car if not fixed."

SU2 I'd tell my date about my recent experience.

SU3 I'd wait for my date to defend me.
I'd change the subject and not let on, but my feelings would be hurt.

36. Your roommate knows your date is coming in 30 minutes, but she's had the bathroom tied up for the last half hour shaving her legs. You need to shower. She shouts out to you, "This new razor is great. I haven't cut myself at all yet."

AG1 "Well, no wonder. You're going so slow that you could have plucked each hair by now. Hurry up, will you?"

"Goddammit, get out of the bathroom, will you?"

AS2 I'd barge in and say, "I've got to get ready; will you please get out of the tub?"

"Great, but can I get in there and use the shower? I've only got 30 minutes."

AS1 "I'd tell her laughingly that I was going to kick her out.

(jokingly) "I'll slit your throat if you don't hurry."

"I need the shower soon."

SU2 I'd wait a couple of minutes and then say I was in a hurry.

I wouldn't say anything.

SU3 I would use the shower next door.

51. You're sitting in your psych. class putting away a test you got back. You think the test was unfair. One of your classmates is telling the prof. why one of the questions was ambiguous when the prof. interrupts him and says, "I'll listen to you when, and if, you ever get a Ph.D."

AG1 "If that isn't intellectual snobbery, I don't know what is."

AS2 After raising my hand, I would say, "I agree with him."

"But he's right."

AS1 I'd laugh with the rest of the class.

SU1 "Could you explain it to us all--I'm sure others are interested too."

"I had the same reaction, but maybe they seemed ambiguous because I didn't understand the material."

- SU2 I would try to get other students to go with me to complain higher up.
I'd frown at the professor.
- SU3 I'd complain later to friends.
I'd be terribly disgusted and sickened; I'd hate this professor forever for being so hard-assed.

Situations for Which Assertion is NOT Warranted
(Scored by Type III Criteria)

40. It's before history class. Your teacher, new to this campus, asks you to explain the directions to the library to one of your classmates. Just after you've started, your teacher remembers the directions and interrupts you to give the directions himself.

- AG1 "Excuse me, I thought I was giving directions."
"Go ahead, though I thought you'd forgotten."
- AS2 "Well, I'll see you later."
"There is an easier way altogether."
- AS1 I would probably jokingly laugh at him.
- SU1 "Oh, excuse me."
"You remembered!"
- SU2 I'd just leave.
I'd say, "Hope you find it" after he was done.
- SU3 I'd probably just shut up.
I'd go back to my own work and not worry about it.

SITUATION TYPE FOUR

A situation in which someone is attempting to get the woman to do something for them; a situation in which someone is asking the woman to do them a favor at her cost. The request for the favor may be implicit.

EXAMPLES:

- (1) You have to do a group project for one of your classes; it's due in a week. Right now you're talking with the other two members of your group after your class trying to set up a meeting. The guy suggests Saturday morning, which is fine with

you, but the girl (who has already missed two of your meetings), says, "I don't know whether I can make it then or not...it all depends."

(31) There's an assignment that you worked very hard to complete last week. You finished it. It's due tomorrow. Suddenly, the phone rings. It's a guy in your class you barely know, and he says, "Can I borrow your assignment? I didn't realize how hard it would be."

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES:

(AG1) The woman refuses to perform the favor and is hostile to the person who requested it. Either she attacks the other's character, or she dismisses them.

(AS3) The woman refuses to perform the favor. She may either state a simple refusal, make a response in which her refusal is implicit, or forcefully demand that the requestor remove their request.

(AS2) The woman refuses to perform the favor in some indirect way (by lying, making a comment, or asking a question which implies that she objects).

(AS1) The woman refuses to perform the favor at that time, but offers to perform it under other conditions.

(SU1) The woman neither refuses nor agrees. She either does not respond, makes a noncommittal comment, or asks a question to postpone making a stand.

(SU2) The woman states an objection, but complies.

(SU3) The woman complies.

1. You have to do a group project for one of your classes; it's due in a week. Right now you're talking with the other two members of your group after your class trying to set up a meeting time. The guy suggests Saturday morning, which is fine with you, but the girl (who has already missed two of your meetings) says, "I don't know whether I can make it then or not...it all depends."

AG1 "Do you want to be in this group?"

"This is important, nothing should interfere. Why should we suffer because of you not cooperating?"

AS3 "If you can't come, let me know, but we'd better meet Saturday morning because we don't have much time."

"This is a group responsibility--we need your ideas and help. Please come."

"Let's have it anyway."

"Well, it really would be nice if you tried to make it. You've already missed a couple of meetings."

AS2 "Why can't you?"

"What does it depend on?"

AS1 "Well, let's assign parts, then, and the guy and I will meet Saturday for ours."

"Look, we'll pick a time Saturday morning that you can for sure, OK?"

SU1 "When can you meet?"

"I have to have a definite answer to arrange a schedule."

"Depends on what? If it's very important, maybe we can work it out another time."

SU2 "Well, since we've only got a week to get this done, let's pick a time when you're sure you can make it."

"Well, we have to get together soon. Can you make it Saturday afternoon?"

SU3 "Why don't you call us and tell us when would be a good time so we can work something out?"

"Well, what about Saturday afternoon?"

4. You and a guy you're jointly doing a class project with are standing by Greg Hall. The two of you need to get in touch with 6 people in connection with your project. He is in a hurry to get home, so as a quick way to organize things, the guy says, "Hey, why don't you call those people this afternoon?"

AG1 "Why don't you? I have other things to do."

"Hey, look, you're not the only one who's busy. You can call half."

"Forget it! Call me this afternoon and we'll talk about it then."

AS3 "I'll call half and you'll call half."

"I have a better idea; you call three and I'll call three."

"I'll call you to give you the numbers of 3 of the people so we can split it."

"I'll call three; you better call the rest."

AS2 "Gee, I don't have time to call all six. Do you think you could get a hold of 3?"

"Why don't we each call three of them?"

AS1 "I'm busy this afternoon, but I could call them tomorrow."

"OK, if you'll trade some work in return."

- "How about if I call half and you the other half?"
- "You should at least try to reach half of them... it is a 'joint' project."
- SU1 "I'd say nothing."
"You're really pushed for time?"
"I haven't planned my day yet."
- SU2 "OK, but give me your phone number so if I can't get them, you can try later."
"Yeah, I'll try to get a hold of them if I can."
"OK, if I have time."
- SU3 "Sure. It doesn't really matter, because I have my own phone."
"OK."
"Fine."
17. As the class ends, your history prof. announces a quiz for tomorrow over last week's material. A guy you don't know and who hardly ever comes to class comes up to you and says, "You were taking pretty complete notes. I'm desperate; could I borrow your notes to xerox them?"
- AG1 "No, I don't like lending notes and I resent people who try to borrow them because they don't come to class."
"Forget it!"
- AS3 "Sorry, I'm going to be using them."
"Sorry, but I need them to study for the quiz."
"I really need them to study and all...Maybe you could get the notes from somebody else."
- AS1 "You can use them later. Why don't you call so I can find a convenient time?"
"I don't like to give my notes out. Give me change and I'll xerox them for you."
- AS2 "I can't; I'm in a rush to meet someone." (lie)
"I'm sorry, I really can't. My friend is already going to borrow them." (lie)
- SU1 "How long would it take?"
"Could you get them back by tonight?"
"I don't know when I'll be using them myself, so I don't know when you could borrow them."
- SU2 "OK, but give me your name and phone number first."
"Sure, but I'm coming with you and this is the only time."
"OK, but I need them back by 5:00."
- SU3 "I'd let him xerox them if it didn't inconvenience me."
"Of course."

31. There's an assignment that you worked very hard to complete last week. It's due tomorrow. Suddenly the phone rings. It's a guy in your class you barely know, and he says, "Can I borrow your assignment? I didn't realize how hard it would be."

AG1 "That's tough shit. Maybe you'll know next time."

"No, you can't. I really hate jack-offs."

AS3 "No."

"Absolutely not. I'm sorry; but it's not all that hard. Do you have any specific questions?"

"I've worked very hard on it and I don't think it's fair to pass it around."

AS2 "No, it isn't that good. You'd better do it yourself."

"I don't have it done, either."

"Sorry, I was just leaving. You'd better call someone else."

AS1 "I'll help you with it, if you like, but I want to keep it tonight."

"I'll help you if you want to come over, but I can't let you borrow my assignment itself."

"Have you tried working on it? I'll be glad to help you with it."

SU1 "You haven't started it yet?"

SU2 "Well, I don't like loaning assignments, but just this once..."

SU3 "I'd give it to him."

"I'll help you out if you want."

41. You had told a guy in one of your classes that you would help him with the most recent assignment if he got to the library before noon, but that you had errands you needed to do after 12:00. He said he'd be there. It's now 5 'til 12, and you're gathering your things up to go. The guy comes in and says, "I'm sorry I'm so late. Please help me out anyway."

AG1 "What for?"

"Why should I?"

AS3 "I told you I'd meet you 'til 12; I'm leaving at 12."

"We have five minutes, then I do have to go."

"Sorry, I just can't."

AS2 "Oh, I've planned these errands that have to be done. Can we get together some other time?"

- "I'm sorry, can we set another time? I've got some things to do now."
- AS1 "I've got to go, but you can call me tonight and I'll help you then."
- "I'm sorry, too, because I have to be somewhere at noon. How about later today?"
- "I can't now. Maybe later?"
- "Well, I have errands. I'll hurry and meet you back here."
- SU1 "Why were you so late?"
- "I have to think about this."
- SU2 "OK, but I can stay for only a few minutes."
- I'd help him until I absolutely had to go--even if it were only for 10 minutes.
- SU3 I would stay.
- "Sure. What's giving you trouble?"
47. You're sitting in your room cleaning out your desk drawer. Your roommate, who is working on her homework, has been allowing one of your less-than-favorite albums to play over and over and over on her stereo. It's still playing now.
- AG1 I'd scratch the record.
- "Jesus, is that your only record?"
- AS3 "I'm sick of that record. Let's play something else."
- I'd turn it off.
- AS2 "Why don't we play another record?"
- "Do you mind if I change the album?"
- "I'd like to hear my John Coltrane album after this record."
- AS1 I'd put on a stack of albums, quietly, slipping this one into the pile.
- "Let's wait a while before we listen to that album again."
- SU1 "That's an interesting record, isn't it?"
- "Do you like that record?"
- SU2 Since what I was doing isn't all that important, I'd leave for a while for a break from the music.
- SU3 It would not bother me.

Situations for Which Assertion is NOT Warranted
(Scored by Type IV Criteria)

15. You and a girlfriend are making a salad for a picnic together. You like big chunks of avocado. As you are cutting it up your friend says, "Please

cut the avocado up into chunks that are a little smaller."

AG1 "I don't like them that way; nobody likes them that way!"

AS3 "I like them big. Half the fun of avocado is texture."

AS2 "You know, I always liked my chunks bigger. I guess that comes from different mothers' cooking, huh?"

AS1 "I'd cut some small and some large."

"How about if I cut some bigger and some smaller?"

"I like big, chunky salads myself. Why don't we cut some smaller and add the avocado each to our own salad?"

SU1 "How come?"

"Oh, are these too big?"

"I like big chunks, but if you really object to them, I will..."

SU2 "But in my home ec. class, I learned that ingredients should be big enough to identify... but OK."

"I like them big, but it doesn't matter."

SU3 "Sure, I don't mind."

"Fine."

SITUATION TYPE FIVE

A situation in which someone has been inconsiderate to the woman. A situation in which another person's actions prevented the woman's preference for that situation from being fully realized; the other person's actions were not malicious, no malevolence was intended.

EXAMPLES:

(8) A friend of yours borrowed your typewriter last week and gave you the impression that she was going to use it herself. Tonight in a phone conversation she lets it slip that she had borrowed it for a guy she's been dating. When you tell her you are surprised, she answers, "I thought you knew. Anyway, it doesn't matter."

(19) Earlier today a neighbor borrowed some scissors. When she did, you told her you would need them soon, and she promised to return them in half an hour. That was four hours ago. Because she hasn't returned them as she said she would, you haven't been able to get the work done you were planning to do. At last she brings them back, saying, "Sorry I'm so late; I forgot."

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES:

(AG1) The woman conveys her displeasure in a hostile, confrontive manner. She may let the other person know her preferences, but the primary content of her communication is to let the other person experience her anger. Profanity, non-committal cold exclamations, or statements of disgust may be used.

(AS2) The woman communicates to the other that she was inconvenienced directly and she may request an explanation of the other person's behavior.

(AS1) The woman communicates to the other that she was inconvenienced (in an indirect or gentle manner). This communication may be in the form of a fond joking, guilt induction, a tentative request for an explanation of the person's behavior, and/or an instruction to the person that they should not repeat the behavior in question in the future. She may also reassure the person that their behavior was acceptable.

(SU1) The woman merely reassures the other person that their behavior was acceptable; she does not acknowledge her displeasure. The reassurance may be given by stating an identification with the person's situation or by encouraging their action verbally after the fact.

(SU2) The woman does not verbally address the issue, but instead avoids it by changing the subject or by not responding verbally at all.

8. A friend of yours borrowed your typewriter last week and gave you the impression that she was going to use it herself. Tonight in a phone conversation she lets it slip that she had borrowed it for a guy she's been dating. When you tell her you are surprised, she answers, "I thought you knew. Anyway, it doesn't matter."

AG1 "Bullshit! It does matter. Next time ask me straight."

"Oh yeah? Well, just be sure I get it back in one piece."

AS2 "It does, too, matter. I don't usually let anybody borrow my typewriter--especially somebody I don't even know."

"I've been using someone else's typewriter all week and I don't think you should have taken mine for someone I don't know."

AS1 "No, I guess not, but why don't you let me know about that the next time?"

"I like to know who I'm lending things to."

SU1 "I don't mind as long as he's responsible."

SU2 That's her business; I wouldn't care. It doesn't matter.

I would think of it as a lack of communication and not be bothered by it.

9. You and one of your closest boy friends had agreed to meet for lunch at 12:00. You were on time, and you've been sitting at the table waiting for him nearly 20 minutes. Finally he comes rushing in and says, as he sits down, "Sorry I'm so late."

AG1 "Well, Jesus, where have you been?"

"Two more minutes and I would have left."

AS2 "What happened? I've been waiting 20 minutes." "What kept you?"

AS1 "That's all right. What was the problem?"

"Yeah, so am I." (jokingly)

"I thought girls were the ones guys were supposed to wait for." (jokingly)

SU1 "That's OK. You know me--I'm late for things half the time anyway."

SU2 "OK"--then I'd start to eat.

19. Earlier today a neighbor borrowed some scissors. When she did, you told her you would need them soon, and she promised to return them in half an hour. That was four hours ago. Because she hasn't returned them as she said she would, you haven't been able to get the work done you were planning to do. At last she brings them back, saying, "Sorry I'm so late, I forgot."

AG1 "Listen, I haven't been able to do a fucking thing. Try to get them back on time next time; I think that's pretty inconsiderate."

"I haven't been able to work because they were gone so long!"

- "I wish you had been more considerate."
 AS2 "I wish you had brought them sooner."
 "I should've come over to get them; I really needed them for my project--but I thought you were still using them since you said you'd bring them right back."
 AS1 "Oh good, I was needing them."
 "I should have come to get them from you."
 "I guess I'll have to do my work tomorrow."
 "That's OK; but next time, bring them back when you promise to."
 SU1 "That's OK; I should have called to remind you."
 "That's OK; I didn't really want to get that work done anyway."
 SU2 I wouldn't say anything.
 I would pleasantly accept the scissors.

29. You've been looking forward to taking one of your new close friends home with you. It's the night before you'd planned to leave. The phone rings and it's your friend who says, "A guy I really want to start dating asked me out for this weekend. I've decided to stay here to go out with him."

- AG1 "Shit! I thought you really wanted to go home with me. I mean, we had this planned."
 "Thanks a lot! I want you to come home with me, but if you feel you'd have a better time with him, you're welcome to him."
 AS2 "If that's what you want to do, OK. I'm really sorry you changed your mind--I was looking forward to it."
 "I'm really disappointed, but if it's important to you to stay, do stay and have a good time."
 AS1 "Couldn't you have made it for next week?"
 "Well, I suppose nothing I could say would change your mind. But I wish you had told me sooner; my family is expecting you."
 SU1 "Well, maybe some other time."
 "Can't you possibly change it? Otherwise, we'll make it another weekend. You never know, he may be Mr. Right. Good luck! Tell me how it went."
 SU2 "Oh, well, that's neat that he asked you out."
 I would be pissed, but I'd say nothing.

34. You've gone home for the weekend with one of the guys you've been dating. Around the supper table, his parents invite the two of you to go see a movie you'd really like to see. Without consulting

you, the guy says, "No thanks. We just want to watch TV."

AG1 "Why didn't you ask me if I wanted to go?"
 "I'd like to see the movie. You watch TV and I'll go with your parents."

AS2 "I'd like to see the movie, but that's OK if you're not up to it."
 "I don't know--it might be fun to see the movie."
 "Are you sure? I've heard it's a really good movie."

AS1 "What's on TV?"
 "That's OK, thanks. But I do hear that it's supposed to be a very good movie."

SU1 "I really don't mind what we do. We can always watch TV after the movie."

"Yeah, I'd love to go, but not tonight. Thanks anyway."

SU2 I'd say nothing, then tell him later that I wanted to go.
 I wouldn't say anything but I would look at him with an "Oh, really, thanks for asking me" look.

SITUATION TYPE SIX

A situation in which someone is being inconsiderate to the woman. A situation in which another person's actions are preventing the woman's preferences from being fully realized in that situation, but the other person is completely unaware of the impact their actions are having on the woman.

EXAMPLES:

(48) You're with a group of friends at Dooley's one night. One of the guys went to buy beer, and before he went, you gave him a dollar to pay for yours. When he came back a second ago, he handed you your beer, but no change.

(30) You and a friend of yours subscribe to the News-Gazette together. Your friend paid the paper boy last month, but you don't have the money to take your turn this month. The paper boy has just come

for his payment, and your friend says to you, "Take care of it, will you?"

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES:

(AG1) The woman responds in a manner which suggests that she believes the other should recognize their inconsideration. She communicates anger, blame, and/or dismissal. She points out her displeasure in a manner implying that others are intentionally causing it.

(AS2) The woman makes an immediate verbal statement communicating to the other person that they are being inconsiderate and wrong and explaining why.

(AS1) The woman responds later as in AS2 or immediately with a question or tentative statement communicating her awareness of alternatives to the existing situation.

(SU1) The woman does not verbally respond, or she verbally responds in a way suggesting that she is at fault.

30. You and a friend of yours subscribe to the News-Gazette together. Your friend paid the paper boy last month, but you don't have the money to take your turn this month. The paper boy has just come for his payment, and your friend says to you, "Take care of it, will you?"

AG1 "I can't; I have no money. It's your turn anyway."

AS2 "Could you loan me the money and I'll pay you back later because I don't have any money right now?"

AS1 "I will, but would you mind lending me some money until I cash a check?"

SU1 Ask the paper boy if he could come back tomorrow and have the money then. And I'd be sure to tip the carrier.

44. There are 5 other students (3 guys and 2 girls) in your seminar class. It's getting late, and the class has no definite time to be over. As far as you're concerned, the discussion has gotten way off the topic into areas which do not even interest you. As a matter of fact, the teacher has just cracked a dirty joke and everyone (except you) is laughing.

AG1 "See you later. I have better things to do than listen to this crap."

AS2 "Excuse me, but isn't it time for us to wrap this up? After all, it's getting late."
"Are we through with the discussion, 'cause I've really got to be going if we are."

AS1 "Please excuse me, but the discussion has gotten off the subject. Would anyone mind if I leave now?"

"Well, I have things to do and I think we're pretty well done for tonight, so I think I'm going to cut out."

SU1 "I'd show my dissatisfaction nonverbally. I'd leave."

48. You're with a group of friends at Dooley's one night. One of the guys went to buy beer, and before he went, you gave him a dollar to pay for yours. When he came back a second ago he handed you your beer, but no change.

AG1 "Where's my change? I'm not rich enough to throw money around."

AS2 "Where's my change?"

"Didn't I get some change?"

AS1 "How much was the beer?"

"Was there any change?"

When the next round came up I'd ask him to buy my beer with my change.

SU1 I wouldn't say anything; the next time I'd get my own beer.

CWAS SCORING WEIGHTS

Response Category	Situation Type					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
AG2	----	----	1.92	----	----	----
AG1	1.70	1.73	1.92	1.78	2.08	2.22
AS4	3.62	----	----	----	----	----
AS3	3.65	2.86	----	4.30	----	----
AS2	4.73	4.11	3.08	4.89	3.73	4.51
AS1	5.89	4.57	6.16	5.54	5.24	5.22
SU1	6.38	5.30	6.19	6.32	7.78	7.54
SU2	7.05	8.27	6.59	7.22	8.17	----
SU3	8.00	8.35	8.22	8.30	----	----
SU4	8.22	----	----	----	----	----

NOTE: AG = Aggressive
AS = Assertive
SU = Submissive

APPENDIX F

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true (T) or false (F) as it pertains to you personally.

1. ____ Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
2. ____ I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
3. ____ It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
4. ____ I have never intensely disliked anyone.
5. ____ On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.
6. ____ I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
7. ____ I am always careful about my manner of dress.
8. ____ My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
9. ____ If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it.
10. ____ On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
11. ____ I like to gossip at times.
12. ____ There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
13. ____ No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
14. ____ I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.

15. ____ There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
16. ____ I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
17. ____ I always try to practice what I preach.
18. ____ I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.
19. ____ I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
20. ____ When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
21. ____ I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
22. ____ At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.
23. ____ There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
24. ____ I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
25. ____ I never resent being asked to return a favor.
26. ____ I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
27. ____ I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
28. ____ There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
29. ____ I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
30. ____ I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
31. ____ I have never felt that I was being punished without cause.

32. _____ I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.
33. _____ I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

APPENDIX G

List up to ten adjectives that describe how you feel after drinking a few drinks.

Please rate on the following scales how you view drinking (circle the appropriate number):

	1	2	3	4	5	
Good						Bad
Feminine						Masculine
Active						Passive
Weak						Strong

Please check all of the following areas that you (a) engage in or experience, and (b) feel are areas of concern to you.

	ENGAGE IN/ EXPERIENCE	AREA OF CONCERN
Eating too much	_____	_____
Eating too little	_____	_____
Smoking cigarettes	_____	_____

	ENGAGE IN/ EXPERIENCE	AREA OF CONCERN
Using drugs	_____	_____
Sleeping too much	_____	_____
Not sleeping enough	_____	_____
Feeling shy around men	_____	_____
Feeling shy around women	_____	_____
Feeling sad or blue	_____	_____
Feeling anxious	_____	_____

APPENDIX H

Informed Consent

The purpose of this study is to help us learn more about drinking patterns in women. You will be asked to complete a number of written measures, including a demographic data sheet, a drinking questionnaire, a short story-writing exercise, and others. You will also be asked to participate in a series of short role-plays, where your responses will be audiotaped.

All the information obtained will be kept completely confidential. You will remain anonymous; your name will in no way be associated with your responses.

You are free to withdraw consent and to discontinue participation in the study at any time, and will be given credit for the experiment.

Please take time now to ask any questions that you have about the procedures. By signing this form, you state that you have asked any questions that you have, and you agree to participate in the written and audiotaped parts of the experiment, as described above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX I

Debriefing Form

The purpose of this study is to explore drinking patterns in college women. Most of the research done so far on drinking has focused on men. This study, in contrast, focuses on women exclusively, looking at how we drink, why we drink, and what kinds of women drink in what ways.

If you have any questions about the study, or would like to know about the outcome of this study, the experimenter will be available to speak to you, and will make the results available to you on request, once the study has been completed. See Randi Schnur in Tobin 602.

Thank you for your participation.

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